

**A comparison of Scottish and Norwegian  
hutting traditions - with particular  
reference to the communities of Carbeth  
and Lindøya**

**1905-2013**

**A thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for  
the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy**

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This thesis is the result of the author's original research. It has been composed by the author and has not been previously submitted for examination, which has led to the award of a degree.

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## **Abstract**

This thesis compares the origins and development of hutting as a leisure activity in Scotland and Norway through statistical comparison, examination of historical context, analysis of hitherto unpublished Scottish Government research and case studies of two hutting communities set up near Oslo and Glasgow in 1922. The evidence suggests hutting blossomed in Norway because a history of widespread and relatively uncontested landownership made Norwegians feel connected to nature and able to obtain individual hut sites in desirable, secluded, wooded settings with relative ease compared to the precarious and strictly-ordered hutting communities established by Scots. The enduring difficulty of buying or securely leasing a tiny strip of land in Scotland from private land or forest owners thwarted the expansion of hutting here beyond tightly packed, working class communities to the widely scattered, individually-sited cabins favoured by most Norwegians. This research suggests these different traditions are the result of similar political, economic and social forces coming to bear on fundamentally different democratic landscapes. Themes explored include the history of farming, forestry, landownership, urbanisation, industrialisation, housing, leisure and holiday provision for workers. Contemporary political and economic developments are examined along with the role of determined individuals in ignoring prevailing social norms.<sup>1</sup> Early urbanisation seems less important in explaining the relative absence of huts in Scotland than the difficulty of accessing and retaining land which in turn, prompted the development of legislation, further embedding social outlooks that regarded huts as problematic and ideal landscapes as empty and “development-free.”

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<sup>1</sup> In this paper the Norwegian word *hytte*, is used to mean hut, cabin or cottage. Observing Norwegian grammatical rules would lead to many variations. So, the definitive singular form will be used throughout (i.e. *hytte* as opposed to *hytter*, *en hytte*, *hyttene*). Norwegian words (except proper names) will be shown in italics with their English meaning afterwards in brackets.

## Glossary

*Allmennsrett*; The right to roam which lets Norwegians swim, fish and canoe in lakes and rivers and walk where they want (within reason).

*Arbeiderbevegelsen*; Inter war workers' movement in Norway

*Arbeiderpartiet*; Labour Party

*Bothy*; small stone hut, originally used to house single and married male agricultural workers in Scotland during the late nineteenth century – since 1965, basic mountaintop shelters managed by the Scottish Mountain Bothy Association, usually left unlocked and available for anyone to use free of charge.

*Bønde*; peasant farmer who (generally) owned his own land

*But n ben*; Scots for a two-roomed cottage, with an outer room, used as a kitchen (the but) and an inner room (the ben). Made famous by The Broons, a Scottish family featured in a cartoon strip who own a rural but and ben and go there on holiday.

*Clearances*; the removal of farmers, crofters or cottars from the land on which they had customary use for farming etc. (Bryden 2013)

*Commony*; a right of ownership in land held in common by two or more persons and under certain servitudes, the word also describes the land itself.

*DNT Den Norske Turistforening*; Norwegian Trekking Association.

*Dacha*; a seasonal or year-round second home, often located around Russian and other post-Soviet cities.

*Dugnad*; voluntary work performed collectively by members as a contribution to the success of a group, society or community in Norway.

*Enclosures*; individualisation of formerly common or collectively owned property, access and use-rights like hunting game, fishing, collecting firewood and mushrooms and peat for heating and cooking. (Bryden 2013)

*Festetomt*; lengthy leases of land in Norway with legal protection and registration. Often rolling 20-100 year-long contracts for *hytte* sites.

*Fjell*; mountains or high moorland

*Fritidsbolig* – Second Home though the word literally means “free time home.” A privately-owned non-mobile residence which people use in addition to the residence where they have their national registered address.

*Ghillie (Gaelic)*; a man or boy who acts as an attendant on a fishing, hunting, or deer stalking expedition

*Husmenn* a person who works and lives on land he does not own and usually pays for this with an annual rent or labour.

*Hytte (Norwegian) and Sommerhus or Stuga (Swedish)*; a small wooden holiday hut, usually without electricity.

*Idræt or idrett*; activity or sport but not rule-bound games

*Kolonihager*; city allotment garden in Norway. *Kolonihaver* in Sweden & Denmark

*Ódal (Udal)*; the ancient Norse system of land inheritance and law in which absolute ownership is gained by living on the land over a number of generations without written title deeds or obligations except a duty to pay tax to the king.

*Schrebergarten*; The "Schreber Movement" started in Austria in 1864 with city areas leased out for children to play in a healthy environment. Later they included actual gardens for children, but soon adults took over, building small huts and cultivating the gardens to provide food during the World Wars.

*Shieling (Scots Gaelic) and Seter (Norwegian)*; huts or collections of huts in mountains near upland pasture used for grazing cattle in summer. Shieling may be derived from the Old Norse *skjol* meaning 'shelter.'

*Skyss*; Norwegian tradition of farmers providing transport for passing government officials in lieu of tax.

*Utparselling*; dividing up land into plots (for huts on the Oslo fjord islands)

*Venstre (Left)*; the oldest political party in Norway

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## Preface

For seven years I had a hut in the foothills of the Eastern Cairngorms – the upland farming area of Glen Buchat, 45 minutes inland from Aberdeen. My “bothy” was owned by a local farmer and had been occupied by a farm labourer and his family until the 1940s. It had a sound roof but no electricity or running water. Without human occupation it had become the domain of animals -- it took years of weekend and summer stays to learn how to stay calm in the face of the apparently inexplicable and learn to share space. Rabbit fur and bones under the duvet simply meant the polecat had paid a visit. A herd of elephants dancing in clogs on the slate roof at night simply meant the mice were building nests in the attic. A door mysteriously wedged shut meant only there had been heavy rain before I arrived. Missing objects from my “fridge” – a Tupperware box floating in the freezing waters of the cattle trough – showed that the cows wandering the surrounding fields day and night were a lot smarter than they looked.

I loved the freedom and the adventure. And I knew only a handful of people who felt the same. When I was sufficiently persuaded of the merits of country life to move permanently from Glasgow to “the country,” I let go of the bothy and moved to a small house with a garden in rural Perthshire. It was filled immediately with my responsible, serious self and worldly possessions. My carefully blended balance of tame urban dwelling and wild country living was over. I had once again become a sensible, tamed, rural Scot. But the experience removed all fear of being alone in nature – even at night -- and left me wondering why so few Scots have huts, cabins, boltholes or mountain retreats. Part of the reason is guilt. How can anyone justify owning or renting a second home when so many young locals struggle to find first homes? Is it not greedy to have two places to live – even if one is almost uninhabitable by “civilised” standards? Eventually I started to see the “problem” differently. In a relatively empty and wooded landscape like Scotland there is enough land and forest to accommodate far, far more people in all sorts of huts, cabins, mountain cottages and seaside shacks. So why would Scottish landowners not sell small patches of

land or offer reliable long-term leases? Why do Scots not demand it? Why do planning regulations and council tax rules actively discourage hutters?

Those questions became more pressing after several trips to Norway during which I was able to sample that country's *hytte* culture and the contrast with Scotland was laid bare. In some respects, Scotland and Norway are very alike. But nothing sets the two northern neighbours further apart than the way they use leisure time. Every weekend most Norwegians go to their hut or cabin. Every weekend, most Scots do not. Scots cite rising incomes and more statutory holidays since the 1960s as the main reason they do not have huts but instead head further south for two weeks a year. Norwegians cite exactly the same reasons for the massive growth in huts since the 1960s and regard "holidays" as the thing they do every weekend not just during two weeks each summer. In short, Scots and Norwegians cite the very same reasons for their very different hut and cabin traditions. This research aims to uncover the historical underpinning of these very different outlooks.

## Methodology

This thesis compares the hutting traditions of Scotland and Norway and focuses on self-organising communities rather than individually-located huts, making particular reference to the oldest sites in each country - Carbeth and Lindøya. The time period stretches from 1905 (when the first campers used rowing boats to reach Lindøya in inner Oslo Fjord) and 2013 (when hutters at Carbeth near Glasgow finally ended the decade-long threat of eviction by buying the land upon which their huts were built).

The decision to compare the history of these two North Sea neighbours was taken with the aim of providing new and perhaps more relevant perspectives than that obtained by comparing Scotland and England – two members of the same political state. Looked at from a British perspective, the near total absence of huts in Scotland seems unremarkable since England also has very few weekend, wooden cabins. But looked at from the wider perspective of its northern wooded latitude, Scotland is a startling exception – the only nation whose wooded natural environment contains next to no huts at all.

Comparative historiography in Scotland has generally focused on comparisons with Ireland. In the final three decades of the last century, a series of conferences was organised to explore the comparative historical development of the two countries over three centuries, followed by a publication of proceedings.<sup>1</sup> Similar works covering much the same time period have been published every decade since then.<sup>2</sup> Several writers have also compared Scottish and Irish experience in areas like land agitation, religious identity and immigration.<sup>3</sup> According to Tom Devine;

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<sup>1</sup> L. M. Cullen, and T.C. Smout, (eds.), *Comparative Aspects of Scottish and Irish Economic and Social History, 1600-1900* (Edinburgh, 1977)

<sup>2</sup> T.M. Devine and D. Dickson, (eds.), *Ireland and Scotland, 1600-1850: Parallels and Contrasts in Economic and Social Development* (Edinburgh, 1983). R. Mitchison and P. Roebuck, (eds), *Economy and Society in Scotland and Ireland, 1500-1939* (Edinburgh, 1988).

S. J. Connolly, R.A. Houston and R.J. Morris (eds.), *Conflict, Identity and Development: Ireland and Scotland, 1600-1939* (Preston, 1995). R.J. Morris and L. Kennedy (eds.), *Ireland and Scotland: Order and Disorder* (Edinburgh, 2005).

<sup>3</sup> S.J. Brown, 'Outside the Covenant: The Scottish Presbyterian Churches and Irish Immigration, 1922-1938', *Innes Review*, 42 (1991). E.W. McFarland, 'A reality and yet impalpable: the Fenian panic in

The comparative approach is one of the most useful in the intellectual toolkit of the historian. It enables the scholar to determine what is distinctive and what is commonplace about the country he or she is primarily interested in studying. It encourages an analytical rather than a descriptive discourse as questions, paradoxes, problems and puzzles arise which would otherwise remain hidden or dormant without such a broader context of investigation. The pitfalls of exceptionalism, introspection, parochialism and navel gazing in national histories can be avoided to some extent at least. Invaluable also is the fact that some features which domestic historians take for granted can immediately seem striking and intriguing to the outsider.<sup>4</sup>

Often though, comparative history has simply meant placing two sets of information side by side without much analysis, and the original expectations of the discipline have failed to materialise. Furthermore, comparing nations shaped by the same political processes makes it hard to know if distinctive features arise from the length of time each nation has spent within that state, from pre-existing cultural characteristics, or from the different geographies and landscapes each nation inhabits. By comparing Scotland with a non-British neighbour, it is hoped differences in underlying political systems will become more visible. In *Northern Neighbours*, which compares Scotland and Norway since 1800, Oivind Bratberg and Nik Brandal argue that a comparative history of Scotland and Norway helps explain their evolution:

Both nations were unified as seaward empire-nations in the Middle Ages, only to move toward peripheral status under a stronger neighbouring centre during the phase of accelerated nation building from the 16th century onwards. Both Norwegians and Scots... maintained distinctive legal traditions and institutions as well as urban corporations with some independence in their external trade relations.<sup>5</sup>

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mid-Victorian Scotland', *Scottish Historical Review*, 77 (1998); E.A. Cameron, 'Communication or separation? Reactions to Irish land agitation and legislation in the Highlands of Scotland', *English Historical Review*, Vol 120 No. 487 (2005) pp. 633-666.

<sup>4</sup> J. Bryden et al, *Northern Neighbours*

<sup>5</sup> Bratberg and Brandal in Bryden et al, *Northern Neighbours*, p. 37.

In the field of tourism there have been comparative studies of British and North American experience, although as Towner and Wall observe;

Communication is frustrated by the fact that much relevant North American research has “recreation” rather than “tourism” in the title. Britain appears to have been particularly concerned with urban resorts, such as spas and seaside resorts, whereas North American research has been more concerned with park and wilderness settings.<sup>6</sup>

This is more than a mere problem of semantics or classification. Leisure means different things in different societies – perhaps that explains the rarity of comparative research in this field.<sup>7</sup> This work adds to that small but growing genre. It compares existing literature as well as the historical and social contexts within which leisure, second homes and hutting developed in Norway and Scotland. It is the first academic research into the origins of hutting communities in either country and involved learning Norwegian to locate and translate relevant material and interview hatters. The research also uncovered hitherto unpublished material when a Freedom of Information request resulted in full publication and subsequent analysis of a major hutting study conducted for the Scottish Government in 1999. Hitherto only a summary had been made available to the public, for reasons of commercial confidentiality. Archive material uncovered on Lindøya and Nakholmen helped produce a map of the original hatters’ home locations, challenging the prevailing belief that they were chosen by the state on the grounds of poverty alone. In Scotland, archival material and private correspondence recovered from family members has also questioned pre-existing narratives about the origins of Carbeth. Finally, this research contains the first comparison of all major hutting sites in Scotland with one another, with similar sites in England and with the contemporaneous allotment movement. This comparison has established common characteristics

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<sup>6</sup> Towner J Wall G (1991) History of Tourism *Annals of Tourism* Vol 18 pp 71-84

<sup>7</sup> Vagner, J., Muller, D.K., Fialova, D. (2011) Second home tourism in light of the historical-political and socio-geographical development of Czechia and Sweden. *Geografie*, 116(2), pp 191–210.

in the establishment, management and general decline of all modest, plot-based leisure in Britain.

## Case studies

The *hytte* movement in Norway is large, diverse and more than a century old, making it hard to compare in its entirety with the much smaller hutting movement in Scotland. So, this study primarily compares the origins, conditions, longevity and historical spread of hutting communities – a distinctive sub-type of the wider second homes category found in both Scotland and Norway - not the dispersed, individually-located hut sites which are common in Norway but extremely rare in Scotland.

There is a particular focus on the *hytte* islands of Lindøya, Nakholmen and Bleikøya in Oslo Fjord, which lie 20 minutes by ferry from the Norwegian capital, Oslo. In Scotland, the only remaining sizeable hutting community is at Carbeth, 12 miles north of Scotland's largest city, Glasgow. Like Nakholmen and Lindøya, Carbeth was first populated during the inter-war years by workers keen to escape the squalor of the city. The first hutters – “escapees” from both cities – were influenced by socialist trade unions, workers educational groups, cycling and camping clubs. Neither group owned the land on which their huts were built. Yet each hutting community -- built and owned by workers in the 1920s -- remains functioning and unique in its homeland today.

## **Chapter One -- Introduction**

This thesis compares the different hutting traditions of Scotland and Norway and contends that the relatively small number of huts in Scotland arises from restrictive conditions prevailing here (particularly in the sphere of landownership) and not from any lack of enthusiasm for physical activity, life outdoors or reconnecting with nature, despite the length of time most urban Scots have spent away from the land.

In Norway, ownership of second homes is almost ubiquitous, classless and regarded as a relatively unproblematic way to keep city dwellers in touch with rural life. In Scotland, second homes are seen as the preserve of a wealthy elite and considered a threat to the sustainability of remote and rural communities. This thesis also suggests that these very different attitudes arise from the very different types of second homes to be found in each country. In Norway 93% of second homes are purpose-built, wooden, weekend huts (most without electricity or running water), which would not be suitable for permanent accommodation, whilst in Scotland, such huts make up less than 2% of the holiday home total and the vast majority are detached farmhouses that could be used for permanent homes by locals. This fairly radical difference is largely explained by the difficulty of acquiring small plots of land in Scotland, “the last country where feudal tenure was still the way most land was owned” until the Abolition of Feudal Tenure etc. (Scotland) Act 2000.<sup>1</sup> This means half of all private land is still owned by just 432 private owners or interests. The resulting land scarcity makes plots prohibitively expensive and encourages would-be holiday home owners to buy existing “first” homes in scenic, remote, rural areas instead. This sets up intolerable price pressures for local people and fuels the narrative that “second homes” are inherently elitist and socially destructive. Meanwhile, huts are confined to large communal locations like caravan sites, whose serried ranks, strict rules and precarious tenancy

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<sup>1</sup> Land Reform Review Group Final Report May 2014 <https://www.gov.scot/publications/land-reform-review-group-final-report-land-scotland-common-good/pages/61/> p159-60

conditions are only acceptable to those on low incomes, without other leisure options. This work contends that the perceived problem of second home ownership in Scotland, masks a far greater problem - land scarcity and the development of forestry over centuries as a closed, industrial process, which consciously excludes the huts that are so common in forests elsewhere.

Second homes were a normal aspect of life for wealthy people in ancient Egypt and Rome. Seasonal migration from city to country became a feature of high society in many countries, with ritualised movements accompanied by servants and belongings. In Norway, modest, wooden, self-built *hytte* (huts) for weekend and summer holidays have been a common feature of society amongst affluent townspeople since the mid-1800s. In the 1870s, Edvard Grieg picked his way past rocks and scree along the fjord at Ullensvang in Hardanger to reach the wooden cabin in which he composed.<sup>2</sup> In the 1880s, thousands of middle-class families decanted every summer to their own holiday homes on Nesodden peninsula opposite Oslo or further along Oslo fjord. Even the Norwegian royal family has owned a modest *hytte* in Jotunheimen since 1924. Such escape from the pressures of everyday work and city-based life was an ideal way for Norwegians to enjoy *friluftsliv* (open air life) -- a word first used in print by the writer Henrik Ibsen in 1859 but perhaps best articulated by explorer and humanitarian Fridtjof Nansen; "I tell you, deliverance will not come from the rushing, noisy centres of civilisation. It will come from the lonely places."<sup>3</sup> Nansen considered hiking, fishing, hunting and especially skiing to be mainstays of *friluftsliv* – a state in which recreation, rejuvenation and the restoration of balance are achieved through immersion in nature.<sup>4</sup> Today *friluftsliv* more generally means living in town during the week and escaping to a *hytte* for weekends and holidays. For most Norwegians the expansion of *hytteliv* (hut life)

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<sup>2</sup> A. Grønvold, *Norske Musikere*, (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1<sup>st</sup> edition, 1883), p.94. "It boasted just one tiny room, and was poised on the edge of the fjord, in the midst of the exquisite beauty of Ullensvang, with the dark, deep fjord below, and the glittering ridge of the Folgefonna glacier on the other side of the water. Grieg returned there every summer, and sometimes in the winter too, to seek the peace and tranquillity he needed for his work."

<sup>3</sup> F. Nansen, *Adventure & Other Papers* (California: Books for Libraries Press, 1967), p.38.

<sup>4</sup> N. Faarlund, "Friluftsliv—a tradition alive in Scandinavia", in G. Liedtke and D. Lagerstroem (eds.), *Friluftsliv* (Aachen: Meyer and Meyer, 2007).

is the inevitable outcome of rising incomes and more free time – but the same triggers failed to create a similar outcome in Scotland where second homes are still almost exclusively the preserve of the wealthy or of families with access to inherited Highland crofts. Arguably, Queen Victoria created the Scottish template for elite second homes when her consort Prince Albert bought the Balmoral Estate in 1852 and constructed a new castle on the site in 1856. Of course, few other “hunting lodges” have 50 thousand-acre grounds, a dairy, distillery and fifty full time staff. But Victoria started the trend for wealthy Britons to acquire land and build summer houses very distant from their first homes for “hunting, shooting and fishing.” The idea of having a holiday home, that’s close enough to visit every weekend is still rather novel on this side of the North Sea.

## Definitions

The Norwegian Holiday House Survey of 1970 defined a holiday house as a “permanently erected building, regardless of size or standard, where it is possible to spend the night, and which is used in leisure time only.” It showed that 10% of all Norwegian holiday houses were built in the mountains above the tree line, 24% in the mountains below the tree line, 29% in inland country and 37% in coastal areas.<sup>5</sup> On this side of the North Sea, Mark Shucksmith defined a second home as: “a permanent building which is the occasional residence of a household that usually lives elsewhere and which is primarily used for recreation purposes”<sup>6</sup>. “Huts” were only defined within Scottish Planning Law in 2014 as a result of pressure from the Thousand Huts Campaign, which aims to revive Scotland’s hutting traditions.<sup>7</sup> In practice a Norwegian *hytte* is a modest,

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<sup>5</sup> The Central Bureau of Statistics, Norway 1970 [https://www.ssb.no/a/histstat/nos/nos\\_a509.pdf](https://www.ssb.no/a/histstat/nos/nos_a509.pdf)  
Accessed July 2019

<sup>6</sup> D.M. Shucksmith, ‘Second Homes’, *Town Planning Review*, 54, (1983), pp. 179–193.

<sup>7</sup> Scottish Planning Policy (SPP) 20141 glossary [www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/0045/00453827.pdf](http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/0045/00453827.pdf)  
“A hut: A simple building used intermittently as recreational accommodation (i.e. not a principal residence); having an internal floor area of no more than 30m<sup>2</sup>; constructed from low impact materials; generally not connected to mains water, electricity or sewerage; and built in such a way that it is removable with little or no trace at the end of its life. Huts may be built singly or in groups.”  
Accessed Jan 2019

small, wooden second home in a rural or natural setting. It is usually self-built or built with the help of friends and neighbours in a gesture of *dugnad* (voluntary collective repair work.) It probably has no road outside, no indoor toilet and no running water -- though some now have electricity to prevent dampness and a TV to appease children. Given the problems of maintaining a water supply without burst pipes during the protracted sub-zero temperatures of winter, tap-filled baths, showers, flushing toilets and kitchen sinks are also usually absent. Criticism is directed towards excessive creature comforts that deviate from this austere norm – newspapers and magazines regularly debate the recent phenomenon of *hytteplasser* (palace huts) with internet-regulated thermostats, Jacuzzis, cinema-sized TV and seven bedrooms.

## Numbers

The one clear thing is that *hytte* are incredibly popular in Norway today, and numbers are growing. In 2018, there were 463,812 holiday homes in Norway, of which the vast majority (430,896) were *hytte* and 32,916 were converted farmhouses and family homes used as second homes in a population of 5.3 million people. In 2016 a further 55,000 holiday homes were owned by Norwegians abroad.<sup>8</sup> That is one holiday home per 11 Norwegians and one wooden hut per 12 Norwegians.<sup>9</sup>

In Scotland by contrast, there were 29,929 holiday homes in 1999 (the most recent date with full details) of which 630 were wooden cabins and 29,299 were farmhouses used as second homes in a population of roughly 5 million people.<sup>10</sup> (See footnote 20; page 20) A planned question on second homes in the 2011 census was dropped but figures in 2017 show a decrease in second homes to 25,700, mostly due to legislation introduced by the Scottish Government in 2013 which allows councils to increase the council tax payable

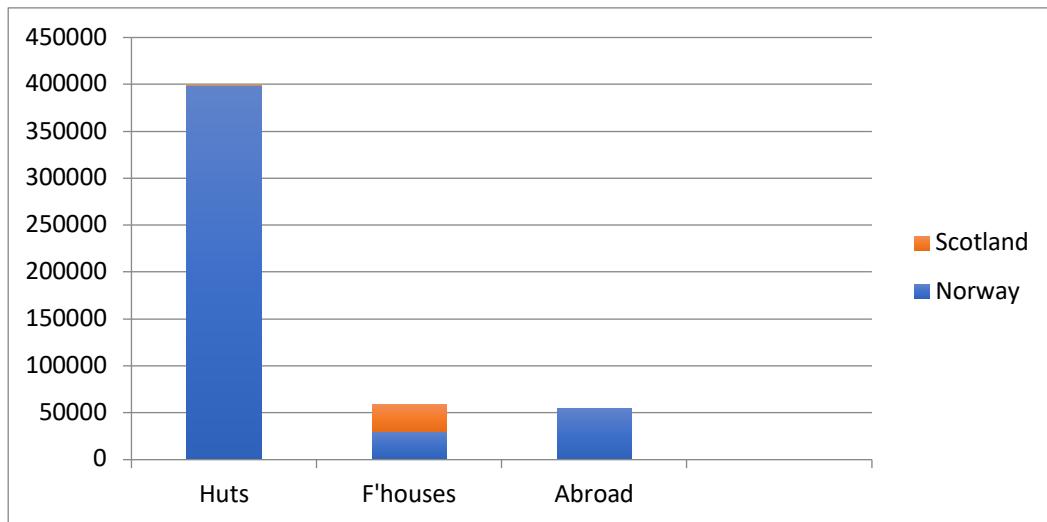
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<sup>8</sup> *Dagens Næringsliv* 27 Jan 2003.

<sup>9</sup> Statistics Norway <https://www.ssb.no/en/natur-og-miljo/statistikker/fritidsbyggomr/aar> Accessed June 2018

<sup>10</sup> Census 2001 and H. Gentleman, *Huts and Hutters in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Research Consultancy Services, 1999). Released by Scottish Government.

on second homes.<sup>11</sup> The 2017 survey contains no mention of huts. So, the most recent statistics suggest there is one holiday home per 169 Scots and one wooden hut per 8035 Scots. This means Scots have 5.5% of Norway's holiday homes total and 0.14% of Norway's hut total. (see Figure 1.1).



**Figure 1.1 Scotland & Norway; Second Home types**

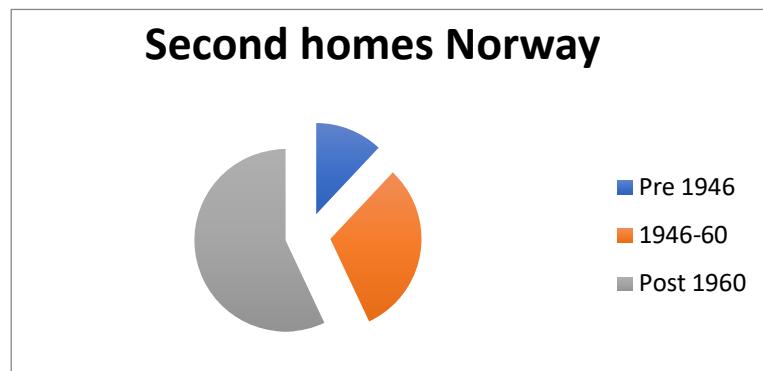
Second homes in Scotland are generally located in the Highlands and Islands – a four to five-hour drive from the largest cities. Indeed, remote rural areas in Scotland have the highest proportions of both second homes (6.6%) and vacant dwellings (5.2%), while medium sized towns (10-125,000) have the lowest (0.3%).<sup>12</sup> Remote rural areas in Norway also contain a high proportion of holiday homes. These “family homes” are generally larger, more remote and less frequently visited than the purpose-built *hytte*; built by grandparents or great-grandparents; shared and repaired by siblings and their families and used by each family in rotation for several weeks during the summer holiday, and together for special occasions like Easter and weddings and for specific purposes like collecting berries in autumn, sea fishing or hunting deer. That may sound like a lot of use – but since each family often has a share of two-family homes to maintain and a regularly-visited, more accessible *hytte* as well, many

<sup>11</sup> <https://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/files/statistics/household-estimates/2017/house-est-17-publication.pdf> Accessed June 2018

<sup>12</sup> ibid

family homes sit empty for much of the year. According to Dieter Müller and C. Michael Hall, 50% of second home owners in Sweden live within 37 kms of their property – it is almost the same in the Czech Republic – because the primary requirement of a *hytte* is to be within reach.<sup>13</sup> This is the biggest difference between holiday homes in Scotland and Norway. For Norwegians, they are generally purpose-built, easy to access and frequently visited wooden *hytte*. For Scots they are distant, hard to access, rarely visited, stone-built detached homes and farmhouses.

Although wealthy Norwegians had fairly elegant second homes for much of the nineteenth century, the main growth occurred after the second world war when Norwegian workers were given a third week of paid holidays. This increased the demand for cabins so much that in 1949 the Norwegian government banned hut building with scarce raw materials.<sup>14</sup> Another boom coincided with the post war de-rationing of cars in 1960. Car numbers increased twelvefold between 1949 and 1974 and many people used them to build and visit second homes causing *hytte* ownership to double.<sup>15</sup> (Figure 1.2 below).



**Figure 1.2** *Hytte* construction periods

<sup>13</sup> J. Vagner, D.K. Müller, D. Fialova, ‘Second home tourism in light of the historical-political and socio-geographical development of Czechia and Sweden’, *Geografie* 116: 2 (2011), pp. 191–210. C.M. Hall and D.K. Müller, ‘Introduction: Second homes, curse or blessing? Revisited’, in C.M. Hall and D.K. Müller, (eds.), *Tourism, mobility and second homes; Between Elite Landscape and Common Ground* (Toronto: Channel View, 2004), p.10.

<sup>14</sup> B.J. Bjerve, *Planning in Norway 1947-56* (Amsterdam: North Holland, 1959), pp. 47-59. “A resolution adopted by the Storting on April 5 1949 prohibited the construction of cabins and summer homes. Furthermore, a temporary supplement to the tax laws in 1950 (not abolished until 1954) made repairs and maintenance expenses non-deductible for income tax.”

<sup>15</sup> Statistics Norway 2010, “In 1970 there were 190,000 holiday cottages in Norway, 1 for every 7 houses. Almost 75% were built after 1945 – often by the owner in his newly acquired holiday time”.

The Norwegian Holiday House Survey of 1970 showed that well over half (57%) of all holiday houses were acquired after 1960. 31% were acquired in the period 1946-1960 and only 12% before 1946.<sup>16</sup> Unlike earlier Norwegian *hytte*, those built in the 1960s and 70s were mostly insulated and by 1980 almost all new cabins were designed for year-round use.<sup>17</sup> Research amongst Swedish summerhouse owners suggests that the main motivation for having a hut is not immersion in nature, relaxation or field sports but spending quality time with family members.<sup>18</sup> Perhaps that is why these jointly owned and collectively maintained heirlooms are ever put up for sale. The emotional and social importance of the family hut is backed up by Canadian experience:

The cottage frequently becomes the home, the gathering place to which the far-flung family returns each year to renew contacts and once again experience the fundamental satisfactions of being part of something, the satisfactions of a family.<sup>19</sup>

So, the average Norwegian family may have part use of a family home and exclusive use of one or two *hytte* – indeed wealthy families often have one in the *fjell* (forest) for skiing in winter and another at the fjord in summer for swimming. The average Scottish family has no access to second homes of any kind. Across Northern Europe, especially at wooded latitudes, that makes Scotland very unusual. In most Nordic countries, the phenomenon of weekend huts and allotments (containing huts for weekend and summer stays) sprang up between the two World Wars and quickly became a cherished part of civic life. There is relatively widespread ownership of second homes in Russia, the Czech Republic, Germany, Spain and France as well as many parts of North America

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<sup>16</sup> The Central Bureau of Statistics, *Fritidshus* (Holiday Houses) report 1970 Statistics Norway <http://www.ssb.no/english/subjects/00/histstat/> Accessed June 2012.

<sup>17</sup> F.A. Jorgensen, H.J. Gansmo, T. Berker, *Norske hytte i endring* (Trondheim: Tapir, 2011).

<sup>18</sup> B.P. Kaltenborn, B.P. 'The Alternate Home: Motives of Recreation Home Use', *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift* Vol 52:3, (1998), pp.52. Kaltenborn argues that second homes, inherited and passed on through generations, are the truly permanent homes, while official primary residences are really just temporary shelters.

<sup>19</sup> R.I. Wolfe, 'Summer Cottages in Ontario', in *Second Homes Curse or Blessing* J.T. Coppock (ed.), (Oxford: Pergamon, 1976), pp. 19-28.

and New Zealand – though nowhere as widespread as the Nordic countries.<sup>20</sup> (Table 1.1)

Country	Population (2006)	Second Homes	Population per second home
Denmark	5,427,400	202,500	27
Finland	5,255,600	450,600	12
Iceland*			
Norway	4,640,200	379,200	12
Sweden	9,047,800	469,900	19
Nordic Countries	24,371,000	1,502,200	16

**Table 1.1 Population and second homes in the Nordic countries<sup>21</sup>**

There is a further difference in the economic background of Scottish hut and Norwegian *hytte* owners. Previously unpublished figures obtained from Statistics Norway for this PhD show that rates of *hytte* ownership are 4 times higher in the top income quintile (5) than the bottom (1).<sup>22</sup> Whilst this may simply mean that wealthier Norwegians have a higher propensity to own not rent their huts, a 1992 analysis by Statistics Norway found that affluent white collar workers spent twice as many nights in their own *hytte* as blue collar workers who tended to spend vacations in tents and camping trailers instead.<sup>23</sup> A 1946 study found 90% of union members in Oslo had no cabin, boat or car.<sup>24</sup> And a 1970 report by Statistics Norway found that;

The probability that a household was in possession of a holiday house [invariably a basic, electricity-free, wooden hut] increased with the income of the household, and the population density in the [first home] dwelling area.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>20</sup> U. Nordin, 'Second Homes' in *National Atlas of Sweden: Cultural Life, Recreation and Tourism*, H. Aldskogius (ed.), (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1993), pp. 72–79.

<sup>21</sup> D.K. Müller, 'Second Homes in the Nordic Countries: Between Common Heritage and Exclusive Commodity', *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 7: 3, pp 193- 201 (2007)

<sup>22</sup> Statistics Norway 2013; 8% of those in the lowest income quintile were *hytte*-owning households in 2009 while 36% in the highest earning quintile owned a *hytte* (or several). Top earners were also twice as likely to own a *hytte* as those on an "average" income.

<sup>23</sup> O.F. Vaage, *Ferieereiser 1992/93*, (Oslo: Statistisk Sentralbyrå, 1994)

<sup>24</sup> E. Røsjø, 'Kolonihager' *Tobias* Vol 3:4 (1994), pp. 1-9.

<sup>25</sup> *Fritidshus* (Holiday Houses) report 1970, [https://www.ssb.no/a/histstat/sagml/sagml\\_20.pdf](https://www.ssb.no/a/histstat/sagml/sagml_20.pdf). Accessed June 2018

Affluence and hut ownership seem to go together in Norway - but the reverse is true in Scotland. In 1999 a survey into the location and condition of Scottish huts was conducted for the Scottish Government, after Carbeth hutters pleaded for help to avoid eviction. Only a short summary of Hugh Gentleman's subsequent report about the location and ownership of Scotland's 630 huts was made public – but the full survey revealed a very different income profile of hut owners.

Site owners summarise their occupiers as mainly older and retired people... mainly from lower income groups, often with trade or other useful skills in building or maintaining their huts.<sup>26</sup>

Not only do Scottish hut owners come from lower income groups than their Norwegian counterparts, they experience less secure conditions. Only a tiny proportion of the 630 Scottish huts examined in 1999 had long-term leases, security of tenure or rights of improvement. Indeed, Scottish hutters are in a Catch 22 position. Temporary occupants forfeit almost all legal rights, but full-time occupants must pay a full (or double) council tax. According to Professor Robert Rennie, a legal adviser to the Scottish Government in 1999;

For any private dwelling house to come under rent legislation it must be the only or principal home of the tenant. My understanding is that the hutters do not use the huts as their principal dwellings and so are not covered by any of the security of tenure provisions.<sup>27</sup> (also see footnote 73, page 214)

Since that landmark ruling, approximately 200 hutters have been evicted across Scotland. Carbeth is now the largest remaining community, but only because 140 Carbeth tenants went on rent strike for almost a decade and formed the Carbeth Hutters Community Company to buy 90 acres of land in 2013 with a bank loan of £1.75m.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Gentleman, *Huts and Hutters*, p.113.

<sup>27</sup> Robert Rennie in email response 4.11.2011

<sup>28</sup> [www.theguardian.com/uk/scotland-blog/2013/mar/20/scotland-carbeth-hutters-buyout](http://www.theguardian.com/uk/scotland-blog/2013/mar/20/scotland-carbeth-hutters-buyout) Accessed Sept 2015

Another important difference is the typical location of huts. Huts in Norway, are not generally built in camps or communities but are sited individually on private land with friendly, sometimes familial connections between owner and landlord, 20 to 40-year rolling leases and peppercorn rents.<sup>29</sup> Bad feeling about second homes by locals is minimised by laws which effectively create two distinct housing markets for first and second homes. The *boplikt* (duty of residence) attached to the title deeds of each house means some homes are designated to be permanently occupied first homes and others are designated for temporary second home occupation – and there can be no switching between the two categories. This stops owners of “first” homes selling them as summerhouses.<sup>30</sup> So Norwegian *hytte* are designated as temporary homes, which cannot be occupied on a permanent basis. But despite being “temporary” residents, *hytte* owners do not lose security, tenure or tenants’ rights as they do in Scotland. Equally, whilst there are local property taxes in Norway, they are much lower (absolutely and relatively) than the Scottish council tax.

### **Leisure infrastructure and land access**

Faced with the vast number of *hytte* in Norway, Scots are quick to suggest public mountain bothies, youth hostels and caravans may be doing the same job here. But Norwegians have more of these types of leisure infrastructure too. The typical *hytte*-owning and family home-sharing Norwegian also tends to use a bothy or DNT hut for cross country skiing and long treks in the mountains. *Den Norske Turistforening* or DNT (Norwegian Trekking Association) was founded in 1868, owns 460 cabins and mountain huts throughout the country, has 240,000 members in 57 local member organisations and a Children's Trekking Club with

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<sup>29</sup> *Fritidshus* (Holiday Houses) report, p.78. The survey suggests the typical Norwegian holiday home is a purpose-built isolated house (46%), while homes in groups with less than 5 houses make up 28% and in larger groups, 26% of the total.

<sup>30</sup> N. Aanesland and O. Holm, *Boplikt- drøm og virkelighet*. (Residence requirements - dream and reality) (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2002), p. 108.

16,000 members under the age of 12.<sup>31</sup> By contrast the Scottish Mountain Bothy Association was founded almost a century later in 1965 and arose from the practice of secretly staying overnight in half-ruined labourers cottages after the Second World War when the advent of jeeps, centralisation of farm production and eviction of tenant farmers left many farmsteads empty.<sup>32</sup> Unlike the DNT, which owns all its purpose-built mountain bothies, the MBA owns only one of the 83 bothies it maintains with the agreement of landowners. Some DNT huts are more like mini-mountain hotels providing bed and breakfast – by contrast the MBA huts are very basic, free to use and not bookable. Like the DNT, the MBA is staffed by volunteers who maintain the huts, but the Scottish MBA has just 3,600 members compared to the DNT's quarter of a million -- even though both countries have roughly the same population.

Youth Hostels provide another way for Scots to access nature – in 2013 there were 70 hostels with 18,747 members. But *Norske Vandrerhjem* (Norway's Hostel Association) exceeds that with 77 hostels. Perhaps that is because mountains, rivers and lochs have historically been easier to access in Norway than Scotland giving Norwegians more reason to head off into the "Great Outdoors." The *Allmennsrett* (right to roam) gives Norwegians the right to walk, swim, fish and canoe in lakes and rivers. Norwegians have always practised a right to roam but in 1957 this was codified into an Outdoor Recreation Act which gave the public rights of access to hike in mountains, camp overnight, cycle on tracks and ski in forests during the winter. It took half a century longer for Scots to gain much the same package of legal access rights. Before that Scots had the same belief in their traditional and informal "right to roam," but some landowners contested these customary rights and during the foot and mouth outbreak of 2001, farmers were accused of closing the countryside for longer than necessary.<sup>33</sup> Nordic style access laws were finally adopted in 2003 as part of the Land Reform (Scotland) Act. But rivers in

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<sup>31</sup> <http://www.visitnorway.com/uk/media--press/ideas-and-features/hiking-in-norway> Accessed April 2018

<sup>32</sup> <http://www.mountainbothies.org.uk/mba-history.asp> Accessed March 2017

<sup>33</sup> <http://www.heraldscotland.com/sport/spl/aberdeen/lines-drawn-in-the-battle-of-dunnet-1.718263> Accessed Jan 2016

Scotland are still generally owned and managed by riparian owners – and many are timeshared, effectively ruling out local or affordable holiday use. Deer, fish (and until 2003 even trees on crofts) belong to the landowner in Scotland whilst in Norway -- and indeed most of Northern Europe – deer belong to no-one and hunting, controlled by local municipalities, has always been a relatively classless activity. Permits are easy to acquire in Norway and many councils organise an annual cull of deer and elk on communally owned land involving the whole community. Fishing permits cost about £10 per day for visitors and are even cheaper for locals.<sup>34</sup> Ice fishing is popular in the winter – so is foraging during the brief summer for berries, mushrooms and even moss. In Norway, land is often owned by the *kommune* (council) or the ordinary citizen/forester/farmer. So outdoor sporting and leisure activities are generally affordable, easy to access and relatively uncontested.

By contrast, in Scotland, feudal land ownership was only formally abolished with the advent of the Scottish Parliament in 2000. This means Scotland was the last country in the world to have most of its land held in feudal tenure.<sup>35</sup> Despite two major pieces of land reform legislation, the latest estimates suggest 432 individuals or interests (0.008 per cent of the population) still own half the private land in Scotland -- the most concentrated pattern of land ownership in the developed world.<sup>36</sup> ( See footnote 81, page 32) The resulting restriction on local access to lochs, rivers and land in Scotland has turned hunting, shooting and (to a lesser extent) fishing into the preserve of a small landowning elite and made poaching a counter-cultural activity. This may have impacted on demand for huts in Scotland because access problems may limit the ability to freely walk, fish, sail, forage or hunt in the vicinity of the second home – and will hinder the acquisition of outdoor skills in the first place.

Another factor that determines the scale of hutting is the extent and nature of forestation, since the vast majority of huts in cabin-rich countries are

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<sup>34</sup> <https://www.visitnorway.com/things-to-do/great-outdoors/fishing/freshwater> Accessed July 2015

<sup>35</sup> Land Reform Review Group Final Report - *The Land of Scotland and the Common Good* (Edinburgh, Scottish Governmentm 2014)

<sup>36</sup> General Registers of Scotland, <http://www.gro-scotland.gov.uk/press/2014/scots-pop-highest-ever.html> Accessed April 2014

located within forests and woodlands. Almost a third of land in Norway is forested, with 171 thousand owners. By contrast, only 18% of land in Scotland is forested with a tiny number of forest owners. Research suggests one-third is owned by Scottish Ministers and managed by the Forestry Commission and 91% of the rest is owned either by landed estates or by investment owners of whom half are absentee owners and a third live outside Scotland.<sup>37</sup>

As with land ownership more generally, forestry ownership contrasts with other European countries because of the insignificant proportion owned in Scotland by individual residents, farmers, co-operatives, and municipalities. More than half of forest holdings in Scotland are over 50ha – across Europe less than two per cent of holdings are this big. Land researcher Andy Wightman concludes; “Scotland has the most concentrated pattern of private forest ownership and the lowest proportion of the population involved in owning forests in Europe.<sup>38</sup> In 2006 the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe and the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the UN conducted an inquiry into private forest ownership in Europe. The results for Norway, Finland, Sweden and Scotland are shown in Table 1.2.

	Private Forest ha	No. owners	av. size ha	Population (m.)	% forest owners
Finland	10,498,000	443,800	23.7	5.3	8.4
Norway	9,141,000	171,079	53.4	4.9	3.5
Slovakia	823,200	14,475	56.9	5.4	0.3
Sweden	17,916,200	268,235	66.8	9.1	2.9
<b>Scotland</b>	<b>932,000</b>	<b>4,017</b>	<b>232.0</b>	<b>5.2</b>	<b>0.1</b>

**Table 1.2 Forestry owners Scotland & Europe** <sup>39</sup>

The number of private forest owners in Scotland is just 2.3% of the Norwegian total, which has a clear relevance for hutting. Across the world, most

<sup>37</sup> A. Wightman, *Forest Ownership in Scotland - A Scoping Study*, (Edinburgh: Forest Policy Group, 2012), p.2.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, p.13. “59.6% of European forest holdings are less than 1ha in extent (Scotland = 6.3per cent). Over 93% of privately-owned forestry in Scotland is held in holdings of over 100ha.”

<sup>39</sup> Ibid, p.12.

huts are located within forests. In Norway, it is easy to discuss terms with small-scale, local owners. In Scotland, the majority of forest owners are large, hard-to-reach companies which are not based locally. Even the publicly owned Forestry Commission Scotland deterred public access until very recently and still forbids most overnight stays.

Away from the forest, the average Norwegian family also has access to a boat. Statistics suggest there were 0.6 million boats owned in Ireland and the UK (population 64 million) and two million in Scandinavia and the Baltic States (population 30.6 million) in 2004.<sup>40</sup> In other words – that is one boat per 107 people in the UK and Ireland and one boat per 15 people in the Nordic and Baltic states. Some Norwegians also have a *kolonihager* – a plot in a city allotment garden originally aimed at poor, city-dwellers who could not afford a *hytte*. Today there are nine allotment gardens with around 1,600 plots in Oslo and 3000 individual plots across Norway.<sup>41</sup> (See footnote 1; page 173) All the *kolonihager* plots have huts where allotment holders traditionally lived with their families, over the summer. Scotland compares well, with 211 allotment sites containing 6,300 individual plots – but Scottish plots are generally smaller and contain only tool sheds in which allotment holders cannot stay overnight, let alone decamp for the summer.<sup>42</sup>

Norwegians also own caravans – there are 800 sites and 250,000 people own a caravan or mobile home (100,000 of them registered.)<sup>43</sup> The largest and oldest caravan club – the *Norsk Bobil* and Caravan Club has 63 caravan sites in 11 regions of Norway.<sup>44</sup> By comparison there are 318 Scottish Caravan and

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<sup>40</sup> British Waterways.

[http://www.northsearegion.eu/files/repository/20141203134901\\_Branding&Crosspromotionbetweenpartners-Waterways\\_for\\_Growth\\_-\\_March\\_workshop\\_percent2803\\_versionpercent29.pdf](http://www.northsearegion.eu/files/repository/20141203134901_Branding&Crosspromotionbetweenpartners-Waterways_for_Growth_-_March_workshop_percent2803_versionpercent29.pdf)  
Accessed Jan 2015

<sup>41</sup> The small number of allotments in Norway may be explained by the relatively small size of cities, high levels of land ownership & the large number of rural huts. In more urbanised Germany and Denmark, there's a higher proportion of allotments than rural Norway – but also more than highly industrialised Scotland.

<sup>42</sup> B. De La Rue et al, 'Finding Scotland's Allotments',  
<http://www.sags.org.uk/docs/ReportsPresentations/AuditReport07.pdf> 2007, pp. 3-4. Accessed June 2017

<sup>43</sup> Statistics Norway 2010

<sup>44</sup> <http://www.nooc.no/Sider/Om-NBCC.aspx> Accessed Jan 2015

Camping Forum member holiday parks in Scotland, with a total of 34,116 pitches.<sup>45</sup> Meanwhile, the 2001 Census counted 4,547 Scottish households living permanently in caravans, mobile or other temporary structures and a local authority survey in 2007 identified 4,121 residential mobile homes.<sup>46</sup> So whilst it might seem at first glance that the Scottish *hytte* is the caravan – Norwegians actually own more caravans, boats and huts than Scots and make more use of shared facilities like mountain bothies. Indeed, for a significant proportion of owners in Scotland the caravan is not their substitute *hytte* – it is their poorly equipped and hard to heat first home.

In summary, Norwegians with the highest levels of GDP in the world, choose to spend summers and weekends in boats and basic wooden huts. Scots, with lower levels of disposable income, choose not to. The more affluent Norwegians are, the more likely they are to own a *hytte* (or two) but in Scotland huts are generally owned by people on low incomes with a background in the manual trades – the same social profile as Norwegians in hutting communities back in the 1920s. Back then, when the Norwegian government gave hut sites to the poorest Oslo citizens on Lindøya, urban Scots were five or six generations away from any real contact with rural land. That has prompted suggestions that Scots failed to establish huts because they were emotionally and physically “locked out” of the countryside. But Hugh Gentleman’s research suggests that is not true – or at least not the full picture. His report found most of the 62 hut sites located across Scotland began between the wars, just like hutting communities across Norway and the rest of Europe; fuelled by a collapse in land values, legislative limits to the working day, increased holiday entitlement, concern for the health of soldiers returning from war and the growth of outdoor activities encouraged by socialist and trade union movements. (See footnote 67; page 234). Gentleman’s research showed that Scottish hutting communities did not fail to start but -- unlike their Nordic counterparts -- failed to survive or

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<sup>45</sup> *The Economic Impact of the Holiday Park Sector in Scotland*. Report for the Scottish Caravan and Camping Forum, (2014). Scottish statistics are harder to access than Norwegian figures and not directly comparable. Non-SCCF caravan sites exist, but the Scottish total also includes chalets, lodges, wigwams, yurts and pods.

<sup>46</sup> M. Bevan, *Mobile Homes in Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Scottish Government, 2007), pp.1-2.

trigger demand amongst the Scottish middle classes because they could not get access to build on private plots in more desirable locations. This meant hutting in Scotland remained a largely working-class pursuit, a group, collective or community activity and therefore a marker of poverty – vulnerable to removal, improvement or gentrification. Above all, hutting in Scotland was not looked upon as an opportunity for a social experiment in leisure equality by officialdom or enthusiastically embraced by the professional classes, as it was throughout Scandinavia.<sup>47</sup> (see footnote 115; page 172).

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<sup>47</sup> J. Borgen, 'Tre oyen i Oslofjorden', in *St Hallvard*, 2/1989, pp. 10-19. "This [Lindøya] is more than an idyll. This is a social and aesthetic experiment that has succeeded to perfection".

## Chapter Two – Literature Review and contextual discussion

Research into the phenomenon of second homes dates back to the 1930s when hutting developments emerged on the outskirts of Nordic cities.<sup>1</sup> Researchers charted the origins of second homeowners at popular destinations<sup>2</sup>; the relevance of second homes for planning purposes<sup>3</sup>; and the aesthetic impact of increasingly dispersed cabin development.<sup>4</sup> The economic effects of second home tourism were addressed by Bohlin who established a positive correlation between distance from the first home and spending levels in the second home community.<sup>5</sup> Nordin studied the way second homes have changed rural communities in the Stockholm archipelago.<sup>6</sup> More recently, Norwegian literature has examined the physical and economic aspects of second homes -- their location, building type, distance from the primary residence and possible displacement effect on local people<sup>7</sup> -- as well as their potential for stimulating regional economic development and their role in encouraging migration from city to country.<sup>8</sup> In general, the spread of second homes across Northern Europe has been regarded positively as the start of a new leisure-age reflecting the transition from an industrial society into a post-industrial society.<sup>9</sup> Indeed the Norwegian researcher Bjorn Kaltenborn suggests second homes should really

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<sup>1</sup> S. Ljungdahl, *Sommar-Stockholm*, (Stockholm: Ymer, 1938), pp. 218–242. H. Svensson, ‘En studie över sommarortsfältet för Malmö stad’, *Svensk Geografisk Årsbok*, 30: (1954), pp. 168–178.

T. Sund, ‘Sommer-Bergen. Avisenes adresseforandringer som vitnesbyrd Om bergenserne landopphold sommeren 1947’, *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift* 12(2), (1960), pp. 92–103.

U. Hansson and S. Medin, ‘Halmstads, Jönköpings, Kalmars och Växjös sommarortsfält’, *Svensk Geografisk Årsbok*, 30: (1954), pp. 179–185. T. Hägerstrand, ‘Sommarflyttningen från sydsvenska städer’, *Plan*, 6(8): (1954), pp. 3–9.

<sup>2</sup> B. Finnveden, ‘Den dubbla bosättningen och sommarmigrationen’, *Svensk Geografisk Årsbok*, 36: (1960), pp. 58–84.

<sup>3</sup> S. Svalastog, ‘Hytteplanlegging og planleggingsideologi’, *Plan og arbeid*, 4 (1981), pp. 254–262.

<sup>4</sup> E. Langdalen, ‘Second homes in Norway: A controversial planning problem’, *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift*, 34: (1980), pp. 139–144.

<sup>5</sup> M. Bohlin, *Fritidsboende i den regionala ekonomin*, (Uppsala: Kulturgeografiska institutionen, 1982)

<sup>6</sup> Nordin, Second Homes, pp. 72–79.

<sup>7</sup> R. Marjavaara, ‘The displacement myth: Second home tourism in the Stockholm archipelago’, *Tourism Geographies*, Vol. 9:3, (2007) p.296–317.

<sup>8</sup> B. Jansson and D.K. Müller, *Fritidsboende i Kvarken*, (Umeå: Kvarkenrådet, 2003). T.Jr. Flognfeldt T, ‘Second homes as a part of a new rural lifestyle in Norway’, in Hall and Müller, *Tourism, Mobility and Second Homes*, pp.233-243

<sup>9</sup> C.M. Hall and D.K. Müller, ‘Introduction: Second homes, curse or blessing? Revisited’ pp.3-14.

be relabelled first homes since their ownership remains stable over generations whilst main residences change regularly according to work, family size and income.<sup>10</sup> The view that second homes satisfy emotional and social needs for permanence is supported by a low turnover of huts and cabins in the Nordic nations, where ownership seldom goes beyond the family circle, despite the fact first or “permanent” homes change many times over a lifetime.<sup>11</sup>

A different and more sceptical view of second homes has traditionally emanated from Britain and parts of the Commonwealth. The Canadian scholar Roy Wolfe argued that heavy weekend flows of city-dwellers into rural Ontario created the perception of second homes as an alien, intruding force that was also inessential tourism.<sup>12</sup> From the 1960s in Britain, second homes came to be seen as a symbol of unwanted change in the countryside by researchers primarily concerned with declining rural populations, decreasing demand for farm labour and rural poverty.<sup>13</sup> Against this background the British Town and Country Planning Association invited researchers, civil society groups and council officials to a one-day conference in 1974 to explore the problems posed by second homes. The resulting research volume, edited by John Coppock, has remained the major source of knowledge on the subject for decades.<sup>14</sup> It was followed in 2004 by a similarly influential volume, which explicitly acknowledged the difference between British and European perspectives.<sup>15</sup>

A big concern in Coppock’s 1977 volume was social justice. Second homes were characterised as an asset affordable only by the few. Indeed, the editor argued that worries over second home development had arisen;

... partly due to greater environmental awareness, partly to a widespread trend towards greater social equality and a consequent resentment that some might have two or more homes when others were inadequately housed or had no home at all, and

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<sup>10</sup> Kaltenborn, *The Alternate Home*, p.52.

<sup>11</sup> Jansson and Müller *Fritidsboende i Kvarken*, 2003

<sup>12</sup> Wolfe, *Summer-cottages in Ontario*: (pp. 17–33)

<sup>13</sup> D.K. Müller, ‘Second homes in rural areas: Reflections on a troubled history’, *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift*, 65(3): (2011), pp.137–143.

<sup>14</sup> Coppock, J. T. (Ed.) *Second homes: Curse or blessing?* Oxford 1977.

<sup>15</sup> C.M. Hall and D.K. Müller, ‘Introduction: Second homes, curse or blessing? Revisited’, pp. 87–96.

partly to a growing sense of nationalism, especially among smaller nations whose more articulate members feel threatened by a dominant culture which expresses itself ... in the acquisition or construction of second homes.<sup>16</sup>

Coppock's remarks arose from cottage-burning incidents in the Welsh countryside during the early 1970s where second homes were a source of perceived strife between different nationalities and socio-economic groups. Second homes were thought to have contributed towards an increase in rural property prices, a social and demographic imbalance in rural communities, housing shortages, an acceleration of emigration, increases in crime (because of seasonal occupation), a change in the aesthetic nature of rural areas and an extra burden on local taxpayer-funded infrastructure.<sup>17</sup> In 1977 one Welsh academic suggested second homes were items of conspicuous consumption which threatened to destroy social and cultural life in Welsh villages.<sup>18</sup> Decades later other British academics revived these fears, arguing that many of Britain's second home-related problems would soon be encountered in other European countries.<sup>19</sup>

This did not happen – or at least the economic and social problems caused by second homes did not prompt an eruption of financial penalties or major restrictions in the Nordic and European countries where they are most common. This may be because the types of second home found in Britain and the Nordic countries differ greatly. In 1999, Scotland and Norway had roughly the same population and the same number of detached farmhouses used as second homes (29,000). In Scotland, that total was much larger than the relatively tiny number of huts (600), whereas in Norway it was the other way around with the vast number of wooden huts (399,000) dwarfing the detached

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<sup>16</sup> Coppock, *Second homes: Curse or blessing?* pp 10-11

<sup>17</sup> J.T. Coppock, 'Social implications of second homes in mid and North Wales' in J. T. Coppock (Ed.), *Second homes: Curse or blessing?* pp. 147–153. M. Dower, 'Planning aspects of second homes' in J. T. Coppock (Ed.), *Second homes: Curse or blessing?* pp. 155–164.

<sup>18</sup> A.W. Rogers, 'Second homes in England and Wales: A spatial view', in J. T. Coppock (Ed.), *Second homes: Curse or blessing?* pp. 85–102

<sup>19</sup> N. Gallent, 'Second homes, community and a hierarchy of dwelling', *Area*, 39(1), (2007), pp. 97–106. N. Gallent, A. Mace and M. Tewdwr-Jones, 'Dispelling a myth? Second homes in rural Wales', *Area*, 35(3), (2003) pp. 271–284.

farmhouse total. Perhaps this explains the British tendency to dwell on the problematic aspects of second homes. In Britain they are fifty times more likely to be detached farmhouses, designed for permanent occupation as a first home, than modest wooden huts, designed specifically for weekend use.<sup>20</sup> (See footnote 10; page 4)

In most academic literature, this important difference is glossed over and few distinctions are made between huts, urban gites and detached farmhouses within the overall classification of second homes. In Britain there is a presumption that the typical holiday home is a stone-built, detached house or farmhouse – substantial enough to serve as a first home but removed from the available stock of family homes by the leisure owners' greater purchasing power. Conversely most Nordic research presumes second homes are wooden huts and cabins – modest but robust structures -- which cannot easily be used as first homes (thanks to the general lack of basic services like electricity and running water as well as the legal constraints of the *boplikt* system). Comparing second homes in Scotland and Norway is, therefore, like comparing chalk with cheese.

Surprisingly perhaps, the definitive history of the Norwegian *hytte* has not been written. Arne Lie Christensen has made a study of farm buildings and the Norwegian concept of home.<sup>21</sup> Ingun Grimstad Klepp and Inger Johanne Lyngø have made ethnological studies of the Oslo *hytte* island Lindøya (a case study in this PhD), focussing on patterns of twentieth century use.<sup>22</sup> But Lyngø observes; "Both in Denmark and Sweden, research into the history of huts and *hytteliv* has been undertaken, but the cultural history of hutting in Norway has not yet been written."<sup>23</sup> Knut Kjeldstadli's work on the history of Oslo examines the workers' movement and alternative sources of leisure in 1920s Oslo.<sup>24</sup> Ellen Rees has traced the place of the *hytte* in Norwegian Literature from the 17<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Gentleman Huts and Hutters.

<sup>21</sup> A. L. Christensen, *Den norske byggeskikken hus og bolig på landsbygda fra middelalder til vår egen tid*, (Oslo: Pax Forlag A/S, 1995).

<sup>22</sup> I.J. Lyngø and I. Grimstad, 'Sommerliv på Lindøya 1850-1922' *Byminner* 2 (1992)

<sup>23</sup> I.J. Lyngø, 'Hyttelivets gleder om tid og tidsforståelse', (PhD diss., Oslo University, 1991), p.31.

<sup>24</sup> K. Kjeldstadli, 'Den delte byen', in *Oslo Bys Historie* 4, (Oslo: Cappelens, 1990), p.65.

century. Simone Abram is examining the legal structure of *boplikt* - the law that has reinforced the second home tradition in Norway since 1974. Finn Arne Jorgensen has examined the impact of modern *hytte* on the landscape, ecology and society of rural Norway.<sup>25</sup> Local historians have documented the origins of the *kolonihager* (city allotments with huts) in Oslo, Bergen and Stavanger. However, none focus directly on the history of the *hytte*.

In Britain, there has been documentation of huts in England, dating back to the 1830s: "There are on the outskirts of Nottingham upwards of 5000 gardens, the bulk of which are occupied by the working class ... Every garden has a summer-house and these are of all scales and grades."<sup>26</sup>

In 1916, the Board of Agriculture noted that surplus army huts from the First World War were a popular source of weekend cabins.<sup>27</sup> In 1939 Britain's main rail companies owned more than 400 carriages, scattered in sidings across the country.<sup>28</sup> In *Arcadia for All*, the housing and social historians, Dennis Hardy and Colin Ward documented the existence of huts across England.<sup>29</sup> They argued that the agricultural decline of the 1870s, brought about partly by increased imports from British colonies, had resulted in farms becoming bankrupt and land being sold off cheaply in small plots to working class Londoners who put up self-built huts or adapted old railway carriages and trucks for weekend use and holiday retreats.<sup>30</sup>.

These "plotlanders" became easy targets for planners and this boom in hutting communities around London came to a grinding halt with the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act, passed by the first post-war Labour Government.<sup>31</sup> Soon,

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<sup>25</sup> Jorgensen et al *Norske hytte*.

<sup>26</sup> W. Howitt, *The Rural Life of England*, (Oxford: OUP, 1838), p. 722.

<sup>27</sup> Board of Agriculture, 1916; "It would be possible to remove, re-erect and convert a hut into a small three-bedroom cottage at a total cost including water and drainage of £125 which – if properly maintained – would last for thirty years. A detached cottage built of brick or stone would probably cost £250."

<sup>28</sup> J.A.R. Pimlott, *The Englishman's Holiday* (London: Faber and Faber, 1947), p. 257.

<sup>29</sup> D. Hardy and C. Ward *Arcadia for All: The Legacy of a Makeshift Landscape*, (London, Mansell, 1984), *passim*.

<sup>30</sup> *ibid*

<sup>31</sup> 1947 Town and Country Planning Act (HMSO, 1947). Ministry of Housing and Local Government Green Belt Circular, 42/55

a presumption against development in scenic areas was embedded in the British planning system. As the British researcher Chris Paris notes;

The settlements which once housed agricultural workers ... are now gentrified enclaves of the middle and upper classes, ruthlessly protected by the most restrictive land-use planning regime in the world.<sup>32</sup> (see footnote 32 ; page 226)

Until Hugh Gentleman's research in 1999, hut sites in Scotland were hardly documented beyond the valuation rolls, partly because they were founded before any direct involvement by local authorities, but mostly because they were located on "sporting" estates with private, hard to access archives, rather than publicly owned sites like the *hytte* islands of Oslo fjord. The absence of research into small, informal, inland, leisure destinations is not confined to Scotland;

Studies of the seaside resort predominate over the informal holiday in the countryside. Similarly, there have been geographical biases in research, with London and the northern textile towns attracting more attention than other urban and industrial environments.<sup>33</sup>

Thus, Hugh Gentleman's research for the Scottish Government in 1999 marked a turning point in modern British hutting research, by creating a very detailed and largely sympathetic picture of Scotland's remaining hutting communities. Gentleman established that most had interwar origins and some were the product of wartime links forged between landowners and local working-class men. But the full report was not published until 2012 after a freedom of information request relating to this PhD, so its impact on the "problem" narrative in British literature was limited. British researchers have continued to presume second homes must be detached houses rather than huts and continue to classify second homes by the degree of their problematic impact on the rest of the housing market, creating seven rural housing types ranging from buoyant

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<sup>32</sup> C. Paris, 'Critical commentary; Second Homes', *Annals of Leisure Research*, Vol 17 issue 1 (2011), pp. 4-9.

<sup>33</sup> J. Towner and G. Wall History of Tourism *Annals of Tourism* Vol 18 (1991), pp. 71-84.

(with increasing population, economic activity and housing pressure) to fragile (with little or no economic growth.)<sup>34</sup>

This perception of second-homes as inherently elitist and problematic seems peculiar to Britain.<sup>35</sup> Bielckus, for example, notes that many Danish beaches have become exclusive spaces for affluent second-home owners but concludes that the ratio of second homes per square kilometre mean this is no major problem.<sup>36</sup> The work of Marjavaara in Sweden disputes the idea that second homes are a catalyst for conflict or displacement of rural communities<sup>37</sup>. In Norway, Farstad reports that locals will share space with second-home owners as long as they make a contribution to the local community.<sup>38</sup> Spanish researchers have analysed the idea that far from being the product of elitism, demand for second homes is related to high urban density and a lack of leisure opportunities.<sup>39</sup> Coppock discusses this ‘compensation hypothesis’ without explicitly naming it;

In highly urbanised communities, where a high proportion of the population live in flats or apartments rather than in houses with spacious gardens, there might be a strong incentive to acquire a second home, as open space.<sup>40</sup>

Spain’s experience is interesting, because like Scotland it has a high urban population density (ranked third amongst EU nations in 2007) but unlike Scotland it has a high level of second home ownership.<sup>41</sup> A third of second homes are owned or rented by non-Spaniards, but the EU Household Panel

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<sup>34</sup> M. Satsangi, C. Storey, G. Bramley and K. Dunmore, *Selling and Developing Land and Buildings for Renting and Low-Cost Home Ownership: The Views of Landowners*, (Edinburgh: Scottish Homes/Scottish Landowners' Federation, 2000)

<sup>35</sup> D.K. Müller, ‘Second homes in the Nordic countries: Between common heritage and exclusive commodity’, *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 7(3) (2007), pp. 193–201.

<sup>36</sup> C.L. Bielckus, ‘Second homes in Scandinavia’, in J. T. Coppock (Ed.), *Second homes: Curse or blessing?* (Oxford: Pergamon, 1977) pp. 35–46.

<sup>37</sup> Marjavaara, The displacement myth, pp 296–317.

<sup>38</sup> M. Farstad, ‘Rural residents’ opinions about second home owners’ pursuit of own interests in the host community’, *Norsk Geografisk Tidskrift*, 65(3), (2011) pp. 165–174.

<sup>39</sup> J.A. Modenes and J.L. Lopez-Colas, ‘Second Homes and compact cities in Spain; two elements of the same system?’ *Journal of Economic and Social Geography* Volume 98, Issue 3 (2007), pp. 325–35.

<sup>40</sup> Coppock, *Second homes: Curse or blessing?* p 47

<sup>41</sup> Modenes and Lopez-Colas, Compact Cities. The authors state that Spain had 3.36 million second homes in 2001, and 41 million citizens.

suggests 19.1 per cent of Spanish households had permanent access to a second home in 2001.<sup>42</sup> Modenes & Lopez-Colas report a correlation between second home ownership and the height of a household (high flats), the size of each residence and tenure type. They conclude that the probability of having a second home is higher if the first home is not placing a regular strain on family finances and conclude that the Spanish propensity to own rather than rent the main home, supports second home ownership because at some point the mortgage is paid up and cash is available for other projects, whereas tenants have a constant and never-ending demand for cash to service their first homes.<sup>43</sup> (See footnote 196 on page ) This could be relevant for the comparison between Scotland, with one of the lowest home ownership rates in Europe, and Norway, with one of the highest.<sup>44</sup> On the other hand, the Swiss also have a low home ownership rate.<sup>45</sup> Yet 185,000 of the country's 7.4 million inhabitants had a second home in Switzerland in 2005. Researchers suggest this might be because tenants enjoy security of tenure and rent restrictions and because house prices are unusually high due to the lack of available land for building and high property taxes.<sup>46</sup> On the other hand, governments in several East European countries provided hut sites with the explicit aim of offsetting conditions in newly urbanised and industrialised cities;

In Czechoslovakia the government provided second homes for retirees and families with poor urban housing.<sup>47</sup> In Poland second homes became popular in the 1960s during a period of intensive urbanisation and industrialisation. Polish local authorities [could] allocate special zones for recreational housing if land was useless

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<sup>42</sup> EU Household Panel Eurostat, (2001) The Panel not only counts households that own a second home, but all those that use one on a regular basis (e.g. a second home owned by a close relative. Accessed April 2017

<sup>43</sup> According to 2001 Spanish census more than 82 per cent of households were homeowners, the greater part being outright owners. Tenants accounted for just over 11 per cent.

<sup>44</sup> Only 38 per cent of Scots owned their homes in 1982, and 58 per cent in 2015. (*Housing statistics for Scotland 2017*) Meanwhile 86.1 per cent of Norwegians owned their homes in 2008 - <https://tradingeconomics.com/norway/home-ownership-rate> Accessed October 2017

<sup>45</sup> Credit Suisse, (2005) *Spotlight Second Homes and Vacation Homes in Switzerland*

<sup>46</sup> S C. Bourassa and M Hoesli, 'Why Do the Swiss Rent?' *Journal of Real Estate Finance & Economics* (2009) pp .286-309.

<sup>47</sup> V. Gardavsky, 'Second homes in Czechoslovakia', in Coppock, *Second homes: Curse or blessing?* pp. 63–74. Vagner, J. Muller et al, *Geografie*, pp 191–210.

for agriculture and this offered opportunities to build summerhouses.<sup>48</sup>

British government – central and local – used its planning powers in precisely the opposite way. Some British academics have tackled the presumptions behind the conflict-based British model of second home development. Chris Paris, now based in Australia, observed that the MPs' expenses scandal in the UK demonstrated the prevalence of second homes within middle class society and argued that a persistent failure to construct new housing is a bigger cause of housing injustice than the existence of second homes;

Planning regimes in most countries do not share the British obsession with preserving attractive locales only for the rich... This topic remains politically contentious in the UK to the bafflement of commentators in other countries where the development of additional housing is not considered to be an indictable criminal offence.<sup>49</sup>

Another veteran researcher in the field, Professor C. Michael Hall backs this view;

Conflict between permanent and temporary residents may [produce] perceived rather than actual pressure, with second home purchases being blamed for other pressures on housing availability, such as poor public housing policies, shortage of land for building, or real estate speculation.<sup>50</sup>

In Scotland, Sean Damer also contested the inevitability of conflict between locals and second home owners with a study on Arran where 29 per cent of households are holiday homes. He found the majority of owners are from West Central Scotland, with long family experience of, and commitment to the island.<sup>51</sup> (See footnote 410; page 123).

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<sup>48</sup> M. Mika and R. Faracik, 'Second homes as a factor in the transformation of rural areas in the Polish Carpathians', *Folia Geographica* 12 (2006) pp. 246.

<sup>49</sup> C. Paris, 'Re-positioning second homes within housing studies: Household investment, gentrification, multiple residence, mobility and hyper-consumption', *Housing, Theory and Society*, 26(4), (2009). Pp. 292–310.

<sup>50</sup> C.M. Hall, 'Second Home Tourism: An International Review', *Tourism Review International* 18(3) (2014), pp. 6-11.

<sup>51</sup> S. Damer, 'Second Homes on Arran' *Scottish Affairs* No 31, (2000)

Academic interest in second homes slackened during the 1970s and 80s as the oil crisis and growth of charter flight tourism weakened demand.<sup>52</sup> But during the 1990s interest revived, thanks to a rise in mobility related to earlier retirement, the development of border-free travel within the European Union, economic growth after the 1970s oil crisis and the development of inexpensive air travel.<sup>53</sup>

In this century David Bell has distinguished between three ideal rural idylls; the pastoral (farmscapes), the natural (wildscapes) and the sporting (adventurescapes).<sup>54</sup> He observes that in Norway, the natural and sporting rural idylls are most important.<sup>55</sup> Applying his framework to Scotland, it seems hutters have generally settled for plots on farmland in close proximity to main roads and to one another, because of the difficulty accessing natural or sporting landscapes. These pastoral locations tend to restrict the hutter's ability to hunt, fish, forage, walk and experience a clear contrast with city life as most Norwegians do at their *hytte*.

The Norwegian understanding of the 'proper' location of a cabin, is either as far away from other people and other houses as possible (the traditional understanding) or in purpose-built cabin villages (a more modern understanding). The 'good cabin life' is located anywhere but amid normal everyday rural life.<sup>56</sup>

This is perhaps key to understanding the very different hutting traditions in Scotland and Norway. Across the North Sea, the great expansion in weekend huts took place on individual sites in forests and by fjords which enjoyed "oppositional positioning" - contrast with urban life.<sup>57</sup> In Scotland, hutting could

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<sup>52</sup> C.M. Hall, 'Crisis events in tourism: Subjects of crisis in tourism', *Current Issues in Tourism*, 13(5), (2010) pp. 401–417.

<sup>53</sup> C.M. Hall and D.K. Müller, 'Introduction: Second homes, curse or blessing? Revisited', p.4.

<sup>54</sup> D. Bell, 'Variations on the rural idyll', in: P. Cloke, T. Marsden and P.H. Mooney, (Eds.), *Handbook of Rural Studies*. (London: Sage, 2006) pp. 149-160.

<sup>55</sup> Kaltenborn, Recreation homes, pp. 187-198.

<sup>56</sup> J.F. Rye and N.G. Berg, 'The second home phenomenon and Norwegian rurality', *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift*, 65:3, (2011), pp. 126-136.

<sup>57</sup> Overvåg K. "Second Homes in Eastern Norway; From Marginal Land to Commodity (PhD diss., NTNU, 2009), pp. 7-8.

not develop beyond organised sites which tended to replicate the “cheek by jowl” conditions found in cities. These sites were not inspiring, natural or private enough to attract middle class Scots.

According to researchers like Johan Fredrik Rye, low population density in Norway has produced “an abundance of available land” which helps explain the huge number of hytte. There are 15 inhabitants per square metre of land in Norway compared to 251 in Great Britain, 127 in Denmark, 121 in France, and 89 in Spain. But the current population density of Scotland is 65 inhabitants per square metre - far closer to Norwegian densities, than almost any other non-Scandinavian country.<sup>58</sup>

Similarly, Kjell Overvåg argues that land prices fall sharply within short distances from Norway’s city centres, making it possible for most people to buy affordable land for huts within commuting distance.<sup>59</sup> One recent survey shows 72% of Norwegians drive for less than 3 hours to reach their second home.<sup>60</sup> In Sweden, the average drive to a hut is even shorter. (see footnote 13; page 6). However, Glasgow not only has a smaller population than Oslo, it is also more than half Oslo’s physical size, thanks to the tenemental and flatted style of housing in Scotland that has created relatively compact cities. Glasgow’s 170 homes per hectare is the highest density in the UK, contrasting with London which has just 55 homes per hectare.<sup>61</sup> This suggests the unavailability of land is at least as important as low population densities or relatively compact cities in explaining the absence of huts in Scotland.

Researchers comparing second homes in Czechia and Sweden, drew up a list of factors that seem to encourage second home tourism. (See table 2.1)<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> <https://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/statistics-and-data/statistics/statistics-by-theme/population/population-estimates/mid-year-population-estimates/archive/mid-2005-population-estimates-scotland/population-density> Accessed January 2020

<sup>59</sup> Overvåg, ‘Second Homes’, pp. 7-8.

<sup>60</sup> M. Farstad, J.F. Rye and R. Almås, ‘*Fritidsboligfenomenet i Norge*’, (Trondheim: Norsk senter for bygdeforskning, 2008).

<sup>61</sup> Mayor of London’s Housing Supplementary Guidance updated 2017 Section 1.01

[https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/housing\\_spg\\_revised.pdf](https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/housing_spg_revised.pdf) Accessed January 2020

<sup>62</sup> Vagner, J. Muller et al, *Geografie*, pp. 191–210.

Ownership factors	
Political, institutional, legislative	political system, housing, tax policy, internationalization
Social, psychological and cultural	urbanization – leisure needs and demands, life-style, social status, income, “self-realization”
Economic	stage of economic development, quality and type of residence
Demographic	age, gender, education, profession
Subjective (individual)	heritage, origin, family relationships, former residence
Location factors	
Stage of urbanization processes	rural depopulation, agglomeration effects, population density, suburbanization, deurbanization
Landscape and environmental quality	natural recreation potential for recreation, landscape degradation
Accessibility (transport, road quality) Infrastructure and service quality	transport, road quality technical infrastructure (water supply, sewage), shops
Institutional factors	housing, financial (tax) policy, regional policy, master planning
Subjective factors	see above (ownership factors)

**Table 2.1 Factors influencing second homes<sup>63</sup>**

Interestingly, the list of preconditions fails to mention easy access to affordable land, though the authors do acknowledge the importance of diverse rural landownership in the development of a second homes culture.

A situation with many small rural landholders is expected to create a higher number of second homes. This is due, in part, to the likelihood that small landholders keep their property even when discontinuing agriculture. In contrast, large landholders are less likely to sell land for second home development since access to land is, in fact, a precondition for continuing agriculture or forestry.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> ibid

<sup>64</sup> ibid

## **Chapter Three – Thematic comparisons**

The development of hutting in Scotland and Norway has taken place within specific political and economic contexts and touches on a number of issues including housing, workers' rights, tourism, town planning, patterns of landownership, urbanisation, the history of the Labour movement and cultural attitudes towards leisure. Each of these subjects will be discussed comparatively and thematically.

### **3.1 Landownership**

The Norwegian author Bjornstjerne Bjornson (1832-1910) wrote: "Norway is a country of houses and cottages but no castles."<sup>65</sup> The contrast with castle-strewn Scotland could not be greater. Norway's land occupancy rights were mainly defined by ancient *Ódal* (Udal) laws dating back to the late Viking age, in which absolute ownership was gained by living on the land over a number of generations. Mirroring early Celtic society in Scotland, written title deeds were rare, no feudal superiors existed and there were no obligations on peasant farmers/landowners except a duty to pay *skat* (tax) to the king.<sup>66</sup> Thereafter, Norway stood out in a European context because the sparse population made it hard for larger farms or feudal ownership to develop and then powerful social movements made easy access to land a fundamental value for the emerging Norwegian state.<sup>67</sup> A new law abolished feudal landowners in 1821 but the vast majority had already died out in the Middle Ages. This period was a defining moment in Scottish landownership too. In post Reformation Scotland most Church land was taken over by large feudal landowners, which further concentrated ownership.<sup>68</sup> But in Norway church land was annexed by the King who gave peasants the right to buy land on an equal footing to the nobility to

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<sup>65</sup> A. Aase, 'In Search of Norwegian Values', in E. Maagero and B. Simonsen, *Norway; Society and Culture*, (Oslo: 1998) p.14.

<sup>66</sup> Also found in the Orkney and Shetland Islands of Scotland, which were dependencies of the Norwegian Crown until the 15<sup>th</sup> Century. Udal tenure comprised a set of inheritance rules assuring the hereditary right of descendants:

<sup>67</sup> Only 3% of Norwegian land is cultivated

<sup>68</sup> R.F. Callander, *A Pattern of Landownership in Scotland* (Aberdeenshire: Finzean, 1987) p. 20.

stave off unrest during the "Karl-Gustav Wars" of 1657-58.<sup>69</sup> Other measures, enacted between 1664-99 limited the amount a landowner could charge a new tenant farmer taking over a farm and capped the fee for renewing leases every three years, encouraging longer leases and more security.<sup>70</sup> It was "radical beyond anything else in the age."<sup>71</sup> But Norwegian peasants did not just win rent control in the seventeenth century -- they also got land. Crown lands were almost completely sold off between 1661 and 1821 to meet war and other debts, and most was ultimately bought by farming tenants. The sale began in 1660, when Norwegian nobles bought large lots. Farmers acted swiftly when smaller plots became available during the 1680s and in 1723 a law required anyone selling a farm to give sitting tenants the first chance to buy (almost 300 years before the same right was finally enacted in Scotland). These laws made landowning less attractive as a speculative proposition and wealthy Norwegians invested instead in timber operations and shipbuilding. As a result, the percentage of land owned by individual farm families increased from 19% in 1661 to over 32% in 1721, 57% in 1801, and 70% in 1835.<sup>72</sup> Nearly 90% of farmers owned their farm in 1929, and the proportion rose still further at the censuses of 1939 and 1949.<sup>73</sup> Norwegian tenants outnumbered freeholders by 3 to 1 before 1661 but freeholders were twice as numerous as tenants a century later.<sup>74</sup> "Norwegian agriculture was not calculated to develop a powerful ruling class but an equal and independent class of peasants free from bonds of serfdom."<sup>75</sup> Thus the "landed" classes in Norway were generally farmers and city folk were part of their extended family. The "us v them" of more stratified, class-based societies like Scotland was largely missing.<sup>76</sup> During the war almost every second family in Oslo augmented rations with food from relatives in the

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<sup>69</sup> T.K. Derry, *A History of Scandinavia* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1979), p.142.

<sup>70</sup> K. Lunden, 'Recession & new expansion', in R. Almås, *Norwegian Agricultural History* (Trondheim: Tapir, 2004) pp. 144-232.

<sup>71</sup> K. Larsen, *History of Norway*, (New York: Princeton, 1948) p. 310.

<sup>72</sup> Lunden, Recession & new expansion, pp. 144-232.

<sup>73</sup> NOS 1921 Utvandringsstatistikk NOS VII 25 Oslo

<sup>74</sup> O. Østerud, 'Agrarian Structure and Peasant Politics in Scandinavia' (Oxford: OUP, 1978), p.115.

<sup>75</sup> M. Helvig and V. Johannessen, "Norway: Land, People, Industries", (Oslo: Tanum, 1970), p. 47.

<sup>76</sup> D. Rodnick, *Norwegians a study in national culture* (Washington DC: Public Affairs, 1955)

country. In the fjords of south-western Norway most industrial workers also had small farms with cows, horses, sheep and hens and it was the goal of every industrial worker to save money, buy land and clear it in his free time, claiming a subsidy from the government for each quarter of an acre cleared and taking out loans at very low interest rates to build a house and a barn.<sup>77</sup> Virtually every Norwegian who owned a bit of land built a house on it, whether they were *bønde, husmenn* (who technically did not own land) or urban Norwegians who built wooden cabins in urban allotment gardens to live in for the summer. So strong is the enduring connection between people and the family farm in Norway that under Odal law (*Odelsrett*), which also operated for centuries in Orkney and Shetland, a family member can still redeem a family farm within three years of sale.<sup>78</sup> As Nina Witoszek observes;

What was significantly absent from the Norwegian countryside was the experience of serfdom and the dehumanising machinations of state bureaucracy and officialdom. What was present and unique in comparison with other peasant societies was the sense of individual rights and freedoms fostered by the allodial {Udal} property system, free of any superior landlord.<sup>79</sup>

When the Norwegian National Housing Bank was set up in 1947 it gave rural Norwegians small grants to build their own houses. With easy access to affordable land and considerable house building skills, much of rural Norway was able to rebuild after the War using self-build -- quick, cheap, practical and empowering. The practice still continues today.<sup>80</sup>

In Scotland the story could hardly have been more different – put simply, the vast majority of peasants did not and never could own the land they farmed.

With the security of property, the lord could borrow and invest whilst peasants could not. The lord could plan for the future and

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<sup>77</sup> ibid

<sup>78</sup> After 1687 the farm had to be owned and worked by the family for two decades to qualify.

<sup>79</sup> N. Witoszek, *The origins of the "regime of goodness* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2011) p. 56. Allodial ownership is real property (land, buildings, and fixtures) owned independently of any superior landlord.

<sup>80</sup> A.E. Rosnes, 'Self-built housing', *Scandinavian Housing and Planning Research*, 4:1 (1987)

leave land to his children. The peasant had an insecure lease and no right to inherit or bequeath.<sup>81</sup>

The earliest Scottish Land Register compiled in 1874 showed 92.3% of the total acreage was owned by just 1,809 landowners.<sup>82</sup> Put another way, only 3.7% of Scots owned any land at all. Fully 96.1% of the population were tenants.<sup>83</sup> So by 1814, the average Norwegian man had the vote and owned his farm. The average Scotsman had neither. The big difference was feudalism. David I (1124-1153) imposed the system of feudal tenure, which created a hierarchy of ownership, with the Crown as ultimate feudal superior granting land titles to selected nobles in return for military or other services. They would in turn grant sub-titles for other services and so a hierarchy was created with each property having a number of owners who co-existed simultaneously -- and generally each had to be paid. Each landowner was in turn also a vassal with obligations to his feudal superiors. Sometimes that meant military service – far more often it meant the payment of feu duties even though no service was provided in return by the feudal superior.<sup>84</sup> This meant chronic insecurity for tenants – the vast majority of Scots. King David also gave large tracts of crown land to the Monasteries, which increased their holdings until the late 16<sup>th</sup> century. In 1600, the Church owned a quarter of all land in Scotland. Church revenues at £300,000 a year comprised half the national wealth, and over six times the royal income.<sup>85</sup> After the Reformation, John Knox published the *Book of Discipline*, calling for the Catholic Church's wealth to be redistributed to fund education, relief of the poor, and ministers' pay (as in Norway). But the wealth of the pre-reformation church had already 'fallen into' the hands of the nobility and was largely irrecoverable.<sup>86</sup> This bolstered the power of Scotland's feudal nobility

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<sup>81</sup>A. Wightman, *The Poor Had No Lawyers* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2012) p.174.

<sup>82</sup> Return of Owners of Lands and Heritages Scotland 1872-3 Comptroller-General of the Inland Revenue

<sup>83</sup>T. Johnston, *The History of the Working Classes in Scotland* (Glasgow: Forward, 1920) pp. 186-7.

<sup>84</sup> At its most constructive, "feuing" allowed developers in Edinburgh and Glasgow to impose "perpetual conditions" dictating how buildings should be constructed and maintained (one reason Edinburgh's New Town has remained just as it was in the eighteenth century.)

<sup>85</sup> W.C. Dickinson, *Scotland from the earliest times to 1603* (Scotland: Nelson, 1961), p. 21.

<sup>86</sup> *ibid*

and led to the common practice of evicting improving tenants to demand a higher rent from new ones. In 1697 the commentator and Edinburgh printer James Donaldson observed;

When a tenant makes any improvement of his ground the landlord obligeth him either to augment his rent or remove – it has become a proverb; “bouch and sit-- improve and flit.<sup>87</sup>

Laws of primogeniture and entail, passed by the old Scottish Parliament, prevented the natural forces of family subdivision, bankruptcy, absence or even lunacy from breaking up large estates. These were rarely sold and then sold intact – in transactions so large as to be beyond the reach of landless tenants. That pattern has hardly changed. Scotland’s large, feudal landowners still generally hand down their entire, undivided landholdings from father to son – even though primogeniture was abolished in 1964 giving younger sons and daughters in Scotland the same legal claims to land – an equality that’s prevailed across mainland Europe since the Napoleonic Code in 1801. In Scotland, Earls and Barons also had the power of “pit and gallows” over local people. These “heritable jurisdictions” gave feudal lords the power to exercise local justice. So, Scotland’s largest landowners were also landlords, employers and judges who could pronounce the death sentence on their tenants. This situation was one reason many prominent Scots supported Union with England in 1707 shortly after lairds in the old Scottish Parliament blocked a final attempt to abolish exploitative feudal practices. In 1706 Dr John Arbuthnot – a Scottish doctor, satirist and the inspiration for Swift’s Gulliver’s Travels – wrote a spoof Sermon on the Mercat Cross which suggested Scotland’s celebrated history of freedom was false consciousness promoted by vested interests, nobles and clerics. English prosperity, he argued, was more intimately linked to the real freedoms of the common people on the land, which included long leases and security of tenure. Union with England would be “a liberating experience for the Scottish

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<sup>87</sup> C. Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the Creation of an Anglo-British Identity, 1689-1830*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2003) p.35.

people promising independence from the petty tyranny of lairds.”<sup>88</sup> Sir William Seton MP argued union would neuter the feudal Scottish nobility, removing their institutional playground (the unicameral Scottish Parliament) and “substituting an arena where the English Commons had consolidated their interests in a separate chamber.”<sup>89</sup> He hoped union would lead to the liberation of tenants from the burdens of lairds and usher in an era of improvement and the end of rack rents and short leases.

Despite all these promises of radical change after Union with England, nothing much altered for the ordinary Scottish tenant in 1707. Article 20 of the Union with England Act guaranteed that all inherited positions in Scotland would continue as before. It took the Jacobite Rising of 1745-6 to convince the British Parliament of the threat posed by the standing armies of feudal Scottish nobles. Heritable Jurisdictions in Scotland were finally outlawed in 1747, transferring legal powers to sheriffs appointed by the King, stripping Scotland’s nobles of the power to demand military service and stipulating that new titles created after 1747 would confer no rights beyond landlordship (collecting rents). It seems Scotland’s vanquished landowning nobles threw their factors wholeheartedly into this new realm of supreme control. There were honourable exceptions. Sir William Forbes laid out the village of New Pitsligo in 1783 and effectively handed control to his tenants;

Before his death he had the satisfaction of seeing assembled on a spot which at his acquisition of the estate was a barren waste, a thriving population of three hundred souls, and several thousand acres smiling with cultivation which were formerly the abode only of the moor-fowl or the curlew.<sup>90</sup>

Without security though, even the most productive tenants were easily removed and soon, a combination of events created the economic excuse for

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<sup>88</sup> This work was clearly intended to encourage Scots to support the Act of Union. Once passed Arbuthnot was made a fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, and physician in ordinary to the Queen, which made him part of the royal household.

<sup>89</sup> Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past*, p. 40.

<sup>90</sup> R. Chambers, *A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen*, (Glasgow: Blackie & Sons, 1855) Glasgow Vol 2, Part 2, p.355.

mass clearance. Before the Napoleonic Wars blocked trade with the continent, many Highland crofters were moved to the coast to collect kelp – which produced an alkali used in the manufacture of glass, soap, sodium and iodine. It was unpleasant work so, at the landowners' insistence, the Government passed the Ships' Passengers Act of 1802 to make emigration prohibitively expensive for locals.<sup>91</sup> During the Napoleonic Wars, demand for kelp plummeted and by 1815, it had been replaced in manufacturing processes. Large populations found themselves on infertile, coastal patches of land, designed to be too small to sustain a family. A clampdown on illicit whisky production and the completion of canal work and road construction closed down other avenues of income.<sup>92</sup> Then in 1846 the potato blight sweeping Ireland and Europe finally hit the Scottish Highlands prompting outbreaks of typhus and cholera. A new Poor Law was passed which levied compulsory payments on landowners and sheep farmers. By 1846, at least three quarters of the entire crofting population of the Northwest Highlands and Hebrides were completely without food.<sup>93</sup> The prospect of replacing starving and “unproductive” tenants with sheep and deer forests was appealing. According to the Economist, the famine proved that; “the departure of the redundant part of the population is an indispensable preliminary to every kind of improvement.”<sup>94</sup> The situation on Barra was typical of the mass evictions, which swept Scotland. Government sources in 1849 described conditions on the land owned by Lieutenant Colonel John Gordon of Cluny:

On the beach the whole population of the country seemed to be met, gathering the precious cockles. I never witnessed such countenances – starvation on many faces – the children with their melancholy looks, big looking knees, shrivelled legs, hollow eyes, swollen like bellies – god help them, I never did witness such wretchedness.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> J. Hunter, *The Making of the Scottish Crofting Community*, (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 1976) p.61-2.

<sup>92</sup> ibid p.91.

<sup>93</sup> ibid pp. 96-97.

<sup>94</sup> ibid

<sup>95</sup> F. Thompson, *The Western Isles*, (London: Batsford, 1988) p.46.

Between 1849 and 1851 about 2000 people were forcibly shipped from South Uist and Barra to Quebec. Some embarked voluntarily, with a promise that government agents would give them work and grant them land, though this generally failed to materialise.

Those unwilling to accept the Colonel's promises found themselves hunted – men were attacked and rendered senseless before they were thrown, arms bound onto waiting ships. Members of families were torn apart and put on ships with different destinations in the Americas.<sup>96</sup>

Accounts like this finally led to the Crofting Acts of 1886, which did at last give Highlanders security over small heritable plots of land. Among the most important features of crofting tenure were the control of rents, the right of succession by children and control of croft transfers outside the family.<sup>97</sup> Aberdonian landowners (including descendants of the enlightened Sir William Forbes) combined to block the application of crofting tenure beyond the “crofting countries” visited by the evidence-gathering Napier Commission. But the Crofting Acts made little immediate impact on rural overcrowding because crofts were generally already packed with landless members of the crofter's extended family. Besides, the plots were too small to allow self-sufficiency and were located on the poorest land. In 1906 men from overpopulated Barra and Mingulay seized land on neighbouring Vatersay, cleared by the owner Lady Gordon Cathcart to make way for a sheep farm. These “Vatersay Raiders” were arrested, jailed in Edinburgh, but released after a public outcry. The island was bought by the state and 58 crofts created for its new inhabitants - a triumph for direct action by islanders.<sup>98</sup> Land raids like Vatersay erupted across the Scottish Highlands, encouraged by the revolutionary mood of Ireland and Russia and prompted the establishment of the Highland Land League as a political party in 1909. Like the nineteenth century movement of the same name it aimed to restore deer forests to public ownership, abolish “plural farms” and nationalise

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<sup>96</sup> ibid p.47.

<sup>97</sup> J. Bryden et al, *Northern Neighbours*.

<sup>98</sup> L. Riddoch *Riddoch on the Outer Hebrides* (Edinburgh: Luath, 2007), p. 23.

land. Members pledged to defend tenants facing eviction and supported home rule for Scotland. The cause of land reform was boosted by Edward McHugh's campaign for Georgist land reform in Skye in 1882 and Henry George's own lecture tours across Scotland in the 1880s.<sup>99</sup> During the First World War politicians made lavish promises about land reform and afterwards returning soldiers were in no mood to accept government inaction. Leah Leneman quotes a Highlander bitter about a local MP's broken promises;

His agents flooded Sutherland with literature containing rosy promises of land. Not only were they to break up farms and pay compensation, but they were also to find capital for soldiers and others who could not be expected to have savings with only a shilling a day of pay.<sup>100</sup>

In August 1918 the Highland Land League affiliated with the Labour Party and land raids reflected frustration with the slow progress of land settlement since the Small Landholders Act (Scotland) 1911. These protests led to a more streamlined Land Settlement (Scotland) Act 1919 which restricted compensation for landowners and prompted the creation of 4584 new holdings (evenly split between the Highlands and Lowlands) before the outbreak of World War Two.<sup>101</sup> But bureaucracy, landowner intransigence and lack of funds meant this satisfied only a tiny fraction of the popular demand for land. From 1912-43 the Department of Agriculture received 33,196 land applications of which just 8207 were settled, 12,916 were withdrawn, and 12,073 remained "outstanding".<sup>102</sup> By 1922, the depression began to bite and hopes of change evaporated;

Thousands of men began to withdraw their applications for land and applied instead for passage on the emigrant ships. Almost all the 300 people from Lewis who boarded the Metagama (in 1923) were young men with an average age of 22, off to Ontario where they had each been offered 40 hectares of land. Another country

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<sup>99</sup> A. Newby, 'Edward McHugh, the National Land League of Great Britain and the Crofters' War', *Scottish Historical Review* 82(1), (2003), pp. 74-91.

<sup>100</sup> L. Leneman, *Fit for Heroes; Land Settlement in Scotland After World War I*, (Aberdeen: AUP, 1989) p.25.

<sup>101</sup> A.S. Mather, *State-aided land settlement in Scotland*, (Aberdeen: AUP, 1978), p.10.

<sup>102</sup> L. Leneman, *The Scottish Historical Review* Vol. 67, No. 184, Part 2 (1988), pp. 156-171.

held out the opportunity Scotland had promised but failed to provide.<sup>103</sup>

In the 1940s, Tom Johnston, the Labour Secretary of State for Scotland, used the urgent wartime need for energy to overcome landowner intransigence and install hydro-electric dams, finally bringing electricity to the Highlands (half a century after hydro-electricity powered the first streetlights in Arctic Hammerfest and three decades after Concession Laws nationalised rivers in newly independent Norway.) Meanwhile in the Scottish Lowlands, tenants were fighting their own battles against a law of hypothec, which gave landlords security over tenants' moveable property and drove rents up since landowners could be confident of getting paid "either way."<sup>104</sup> Tenant farmers were also hit by the growth of lowland sporting estates and the destruction of their crops by "protected" game. This led to the creation of the Scottish Farmers' Alliance to press for land reform and a defeat for landlord candidates in the 1865 and 1868 elections. The 1883 Agricultural Holdings Act (Scotland) finally gave tenants the right to compensation for improving land (150 years after Norway).<sup>105</sup> Before that a complex system of tenancy, sub-tenancy, hinds, cotters, crofters and farm servants existed. Most permanent farm workers in Scotland were farm servants (rather than labourers) who were hired for a period of one year, if married and six months if single. Married servants were paid almost entirely in kind, receiving oats, barley, the keep of a cow and ground for planting potatoes. The rental of the cottage was paid for by the labour of the wife or daughter (or a woman brought in) during the harvest.<sup>106</sup> Thus accommodation and employment were linked. To be unemployed in the country meant being homeless as well. Cottages surplus to requirements were pulled down, so unemployed farm workers usually had no alternative but to move out of the area to search for work.

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<sup>103</sup> A. McIntosh Gray and W. Moffat, *A History of Scotland: Modern times*, (Oxford: OUP, 1999) p.28.

<sup>104</sup> T.M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation* (London: Penguin, 1999), p.453.

<sup>105</sup> *ibid*

<sup>106</sup> T.M. Devine, *Farm Servants and Labour in Lowland Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Donald, 1984), p.33.

Unlike the rural unemployed of southern England, able-bodied unemployed Scots could not depend on the Poor Law, because they had no legal right to the dole. Single men (many bunked together in basic bothies) usually left for the cities when they married because of the scarcity of family cottages.<sup>107</sup> Unmarried men slept rough around the farm or boarded in the farmhouse. With the commercialisation of agriculture, farm-workers were quartered in bothies where many slept two to a bed for warmth. Some married ploughmen (called hinds in the Lothians) lived in cottages attached to the farm. But these were like gold dust. So, marriage and children generally meant dislocation, upheaval and the end of life on the land for many country people. Some married farm workers opted to stay in the bothies of unmarried men, living apart from their own families in nearby towns and villages. A survey in Aberdeenshire showed 92 out of 212 married men were living like this in 1893 and only saw their families once a fortnight.<sup>108</sup> Women fared worse. Since so much of the new industry in Scotland recruited men for heavy labour and since lack of housing meant a constant haemorrhage of families, single women had to fill the labour gap on the land. Borders farmers in the nineteenth century required all male agricultural workers (hinds) to provide female farm labour (bondagers) to work in the fields on half male pay as part of their bonds of employment. This system of bondage in Borders Scotland continued until the Second World War.

Access to land did improve slightly during the inter-war period when “one misfortune piled on top of another” for Scotland’s landed classes.<sup>109</sup> Death duties were imposed for the first time in 1904, prompting land sales, especially if an owner’s death was followed by that of his heir. As Tom Devine notes, almost 1 in 5 of the landed gentry who served in the war, were killed in action, prompting the belief that; “the Feudal System had vanished in blood and fire and the landed classes were consumed.”<sup>110</sup> Meanwhile, income tax and local

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<sup>107</sup> M. Gray, *The Fishing Industries of Scotland, 1790–1914: A Study in Regional Adaptation* (Oxford: OUP, 1978), pp. 7-9.

<sup>108</sup> Devine, *Farm Servants* p.20.

<sup>109</sup> Devine, *The Scottish Nation* p454

<sup>110</sup> ibid p455

rates also rose steeply. New taxes on land were levied, including a surcharge on unearned income from rents in 1907. The Marquess of Aberdeen paid £800 in annual estate taxes in 1870. By 1920 his bill was £19,000.<sup>111</sup> The 1919 budget raised death duties to 40% on estates of £2 million and over. Mineral royalties declined in the 1920s due to the depression in coal mining, which was nationalised in 1938. The Corn Production Repeal Act of 1921 ended government financial support for oat and wheat prices, and farmers who had grown wealthy during the war were in a good position to buy land from struggling landowners. Land-derived income fell in Britain by around 25% between the mid 1870s and 1910. Aristocratic candidates in Scotland were rejected in the first election after the war and anti-landlord sentiments were stoked by polemical works like *Our Scots Noble Families* written by the future Secretary of State for Scotland, Tom Johnston.<sup>112</sup>

As a result of this “perfect storm” it was claimed one fifth of Scotland changed hands between 1918 and 1921 as large landowners sold up:

A veritable social revolution was underway as former tenant farmers bought up land from the great proprietors on a remarkable scale. In 1914 only 11 per cent of Scottish farmland was owner-occupied, but by 1930 the figure had climbed to over 30 per cent. The very basis of landlord power seemed to be crumbling.<sup>113</sup>

But it did not. Landowners had been selling marginal land to invest in stocks and shares and this helped maintain their core landholdings. After the late 1930s, land sales by the great estates declined and the land reform movement vanished off the political agenda. In Ireland, political pressure helped the “mincing machine of land reform” to destroy the system of great estates in

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<sup>111</sup> Ibid. p.455

<sup>112</sup> T. Johnston, *Our Scots Noble Families* (Scotland: Argyll Publishing, 1999). “Today in Scotland our artisans and peasants appear to believe that these ancient noble families hold their privileges and lands at the behest of Divine Providence; that their wealth has been justly earned and that their titles are but rewards for honest service to the state. The first step in reform... is to destroy those superstitions. Show the people that our old nobility is not noble; that its lands are stolen lands – stolen either by force or fraud. So long as half a dozen families own one half of Scotland, so long will countless families own none of it.”

<sup>113</sup> Devine, *The Scottish Nation* pp 455-6

the space of a few years.<sup>114</sup> Not so in Scotland. In the post 1945 period, the tax burden on landowners declined while state subsidies to agriculture and forestry increased significantly, prompting average land prices in the UK to rise from £60 an acre in 1945 to £2000 an acre in the early 1980s.

The depopulation of the countryside, the dominance of urban issues in a highly urbanized society and the crisis in Scottish industry all marginalised the land issue for over a generation.<sup>115</sup>

Tied housing, dependency, dislocation, insecurity and an inability to complain were all built into the Scottish rural experience and created a stark contrast with Norway. In 1939 the ratio of owners to tenants in Norway was eleven to one – it was almost precisely the reverse in Scotland.<sup>116</sup> It was (and still is) common for Norwegians to combine farming with work in industry or shops. In 1939 almost as many Norwegian farmers were part-time as full-time. Such flexibility, useful for coping with harsh living conditions and fluctuating markets, was only possible because Norway's farmers had security on the land. In 1984, after a century of urbanisation, one in fifteen Norwegians owned some land – often the site of the family home or weekend *hytte*.<sup>117</sup>

In Scotland, such precise statistics are hard to obtain. In 2013 only 57% of land titles covering a quarter of Scotland had been entered on the Scottish Land Register.<sup>118</sup> It may be another 40 years before 80 per cent are registered.<sup>119</sup> But the latest estimates reveal an enduring pattern of concentrated landownership, unchanged by recent “landmark” pieces of Land Reform legislation.

It is claimed that currently 432 private land owners own 50% of the private land in rural Scotland. The latest estimate of Scotland's population is 5,327,000, so this means that half of a fundamental resource for the

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<sup>114</sup> ibid p.458.

<sup>115</sup> ibid p.458.

<sup>116</sup> L. Riddoch, *Blossom; what Scotland needs to flourish* (Edinburgh: Luath, 2013), p.110.

<sup>117</sup> Statistics Norway, NOS Census of Agriculture and Forestry, 1989.

<sup>118</sup> Land Reform Review Group Final Report, May 2014 <https://www.gov.scot/publications/land-reform-review-group-final-report-land-scotland-common-good/pages/61/> p159-60

<sup>119</sup> ibid p.29.

country is owned by 0.008% of the population. As a measure of inequality in a modern democracy, this is exceptional and in need of explanation.<sup>120</sup>

It's been estimated that 1,750 individuals (with 1,000 plus acres) owned Scotland's private land in 1970 and the 2012 total was even lower, at just 1,550 people.<sup>121</sup> Astonishingly, there's an even greater concentration of landowners in 21<sup>st</sup> century Scotland than prevailed in 1872.<sup>122</sup>

### 3.2 Democratic development

These dramatically different patterns of landownership helped send Scotland and Norway on very different democratic journeys in the early nineteenth century. In most European countries, landowning was a prerequisite for being allowed to vote. So, widespread landownership in Norway produced one of the widest electoral franchises in Europe while concentrated landownership in Scotland produced one of the narrowest. These differences helped determine the kind of country each stateless nation could become.

Norway became a rapidly developing, consensus-oriented and egalitarian nation state, where democratisation ran parallel with the pursuit of national autonomy. Its cousin meanwhile remained embedded in the Union of Great Britain. [Scotland] was characterised by adversarial politics and sharp social inequalities and saw its national aspirations run awry.<sup>123</sup>

Norway's democratic transformation was rooted in the events of 17 May 1814 and the defiant publication of a constitution which enfranchised peasant farmers a century ahead of Scotland and decades before most other European countries - recognition of their pivotal role in challenging Danish trade monopolies. Norway had grown in population and prosperity under 400 years of Danish rule but remained a peripheral supplier of raw materials while Denmark became an integral part of the European economy. In the late 1780s,

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<sup>120</sup> ibid p.159.

<sup>121</sup> Wightman 2013

<sup>122</sup> Land Reform Review Group p.160.

<sup>123</sup> J. Bryden et al, *Northern Neighbours* p.37.

protests broke out in Norway's southern counties, led by the farmer and ship owner Kristian Lofthus, against the privileges given to some towns, sawmills, mines and ironworks. These effective monopolies forced farmers to buy expensive and low quality goods, and receive low prices for their timber as well as low wages for their labour.<sup>124</sup> Another radical farmer leader, lay preacher Hans Nielsen Hauge, started rural enterprises in competition to these privileged towns. Skirbekk argues that 'Haugianism' strengthened farmers' self-esteem and inspired a growing number to participate more actively in local and national decision-making<sup>125</sup>. Thus the 'unquiet heads of Scandinavia' as the Norwegian *bønde* (peasants) were called, became folk heroes in the years leading up to the Constitution, the re-establishment of the Norwegian Parliament and thereafter. "Once protest and subversion had won the day, the *bønde* switched to constructive participation in the evolving Norwegian state instead."<sup>126</sup> The hut owners of Lindøya would repeat this rapid evolution from troublemakers into responsible citizens centuries later.

Dissolution of the union with Denmark occurred in 1814, when support for Napoleon left the Danes surrounded by Swedish, French and German troops. The Danish King Frederick VI signed the Treaty of Kiel, ceding Norway to the King of Sweden to avoid occupation. However, rallied by Prince Christian Frederik, 112 representatives of the Norwegian nation (including many Haugeans) met at the Eidsvoll iron-works near Oslo and published a liberal constitution which established a national *Storting*, or parliament that outlawed the creation of new nobility in Norway and extended the vote to male civil servants, urban property owners and farmers over 25 who owned their own land.<sup>127</sup> Overnight almost half of all eligible Norwegian men were given the right

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<sup>124</sup> Lunden, Recession & new expansion, pp. 144-232.

<sup>125</sup> G. Skirbekk, *Multiple Modernities*, Accessed online July 2019

<https://gunnarskirbekk.no/bøker/Multiple%20Modernities%20book.pdf>. pp. 84-86.

<sup>126</sup> J. Bryden et al, *Northern Neighbours* p.16.

<sup>127</sup> C.A. Fougstad, *The Norwegian Storting*, 1834; 'there is no place on Earth where the common man has gained a comparable freedom, a comparable influence and independence.... This phenomenon has awakened much attention. Some have called it the true development of freedom and the bringing to life of the constitution in common minds. Others have called it the triumph of ignorance and the forerunner of barbarism.'

to vote – a dramatic change that was only possible because of the *bønde* tradition which meant tens of thousands of people owned individual plots of land.<sup>128</sup>

It was a stark contrast with the British, and hence Scottish political system, which remained firmly in the hands of the old regime. The Scottish version of the ‘Great’ Reform Act of 1832 increased the electorate to about 65,000 adult male property holders – just 5.8% of the population in England and Wales and 2.5% of the total Scottish population.<sup>129</sup>

The decision to enfranchise all male landowners brought rural dwellers into the heart of Norwegian civic and political life in a way Scotland would not experience for another century.<sup>130</sup> Armed with its new constitution, Norwegians hoped to set up immediately as an independent country, but the Swedes invaded in August 1814, forcing union upon the newly created Parliament and the abdication of Christian Frederik. This new union between Sweden and Norway was only a personal union of Crowns, and the Constitution survived intact, prompting immediate and radical changes in the way Norway was governed.<sup>131</sup> Each kingdom maintained its own constitution, ministries, legislature, laws, financial system, courts, army and navy. In Sweden, the King had the power to legislate with an absolute veto. In Norway he had no such independent prerogative and could only suspend parliamentary decisions. There were common Ministries of War and Foreign Affairs and a common administration vested in a complicated system of Joint Councils of State. For half a century these two systems ground away at one another – and in every confrontation, the Norwegians emerged victorious. In 1869 the Storting decided to meet annually rather than every three years and in 1871 it rejected the supremacy of Sweden, forcing the King to accept the Norwegian principle of ministerial responsibility in the 1880s. In June 1905, the Norwegians declared

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<sup>128</sup> Østerud, *Agrarian Structure*, p. 129. Tenants outnumbered freeholders by 3 to 1 in 1660 while in 1750 freeholders were twice as numerous as tenants. By 1890 scarcely 1/10 of the total registered rent comprised large estates.

<sup>129</sup> J. Bryden et al, *Northern Neighbours* pp. 10-11.

<sup>130</sup> F.A. Og, *The Governments of Europe*, (Oslo: Gutenberg Press, 1913).

<sup>131</sup> Most of the articles in the *Eidsvold* constitution remain unaltered, some have been revised and the *Grundlov* (fundamental law of the Norwegian state) continues in operation today.

independence after a dispute about consular representation. The Swedish Riksdag decided not to invade but to negotiate separation, as long as the whole Norwegian people backed independence. So, in August 1905 a referendum was held with 368,211 votes in favour of separation and 184 against.<sup>132</sup> Two weeks later a treaty was signed in Karlstad fixing a neutral, unfortified zone on the border and leaving any further differences to be settled at the League of Nations.<sup>133</sup>

The resounding nature of the independence vote was directly related to the strength of Norwegian local democracy. In 1833, just nineteen years after their radical constitution was published, Norwegian peasants achieved a majority in the *Storting*, (Norwegian Parliament).<sup>134</sup> From this date, the urban, professional classes called it the *Bønde-Stortinget* (Peasant Parliament). One immediate outcome of “peasant domination” was the establishment of local self-government in 1837, which decreed that Norwegians had the right to govern themselves in geographically limited areas, through *kommuner* (elected municipal councils). Heidar argues this early exercise in local political autonomy was extremely important for later democratisation in Norway<sup>135</sup>.

This was the means by which the peasants successfully resisted centralised planning and the transfer of fishing rights to capitalist interests, and promoted concession laws and other progressive measures in the field of natural resources and land.<sup>136</sup>

Norway went on to introduce proportional voting earlier than almost any other European country and thus gained useful experience of political

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<sup>132</sup> Women were excluded, but their independence petition collected almost 250,000 signatures

<sup>133</sup> T. Grønlie, ‘The Years since 1945’, in R. Danielsen, S. Dyrvik, T. Grønlie, K. Helle, E. Hovland, (eds.), *Norway: A History from the Vikings to Our Own Times*, (Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1995) p. 326. ‘The union inevitably ended because it stood in the way of Norwegian democracy. By the closing decades of nineteenth century, Norwegian nationalism had gradually acquired a more radical stance and was turned against the status quo. The union founded because the Conservatives wanted to get rid of a question that contributed to the Liberal’s monopoly of power. Once the union was dissolved, the Liberal party lost its great issue.’

<sup>134</sup> This was called the *Bøndestortinget* or ‘Farmer’s Parliament’. Political parties did not exist until 1884 when first *Venstre* (Liberal Party) and then *Høyre* (Conservative Party) were established.

<sup>135</sup> K. Heidar, *Norway; Elites on Trial*, (Boulder: Westview, 2001) pp. 18-19.

<sup>136</sup> O. Brox, *The Political Economy of Rural Development: Modernisation Without Centralisation?* (Utrecht: Eburon Academic Publishers, 2006), pp.12-13.

compromise in politics and industrial relations. In 1898 all men above the age of 25 got the vote and 26 per cent backed the *Arbeiderpartiet* (Labour) at the next election. In 1918, independence brought universal suffrage for men and women. The Liberals lost their absolute majority and formed a coalition with the Conservatives. But the allocation of seats demonstrated clearly that the electoral system was heavily weighted against Labour. With 31% of the vote the *Arbeiderpartiet* won 18 seats – with 29%, the Liberals won 51 seats. A resolution carried at the Labour Party conference that year reserved the right to lead a revolution of the masses (in the style of the Russian revolution) if the party could not achieve a majority peacefully.<sup>137</sup> Neighbouring Finland was also being consumed by civil war after declaring independence from Russia in 1917.<sup>138</sup> In 1919 the Norwegian Labour Party joined Comintern - the only mainstream European Labour Party to align with the international federation led by the Soviet Communist Party. This revolutionary threat prompted the moderates to found the Social Democratic Labour Party in 1921. It also prompted a lightning response from the non-socialist parties. In 1919 the *Storting* approved the use of proportional representation in national elections and unanimously updated an earlier law which limited the working day to 10 hours, creating a new 8-hour maximum (with excess work paid as overtime). The same year, 115,000 industrial workers in Norway gained the legal right to a week's paid annual holiday.

Labour ultimately benefitted from all of this, winning minority government control in 1935 (after reunifying with the breakaway Social Democratic Labour Party) together with the rural Centre party. This started a 30-year period of Labour government broken only by the war.<sup>139</sup> Between 1950 and 1980, Labour was out of office for just eight years and although it was a social democratic not communist party, Labour's long custodianship of

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<sup>137</sup> Danielsen et al, *From the Vikings to Our Own Times*, pp. 335.

<sup>138</sup> D. G. Kirby, 'Revolutionary Ferment in Finland', *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, Vol. 26 Issue 1 (1978), pp. 15-35. This view was also shared by non-socialist parties in inter-war Norway.

<sup>139</sup> The Moscow-based communist organization calling for armed uprising by the working classes

Norwegian democracy normalised regulation, planning and constraints on private ownership;

Planning was a central instrument in state economic policies, and sectors like agriculture, fishing, and transportation were all strongly state regulated. Markets were to be guided, private solutions were eschewed, and the chances for 'opting out' were restricted.<sup>140</sup>

Yet six hundred Oslo workers did 'opt out' of all planning restrictions in 1922 to become private owners of family huts on Lindøya, Bleikøya and Nakkholmen -- courtesy of the Norwegian state. It was a small but significant departure from the collectivist norms of the day and contemporary understandings of *friluftsliv* (purposeful activity in nature), which was generally realised without the need for individually owned private property - by a walk in the forests, fishing in the fjord or a Saturday night conversation in a union or factory-owned *hytte* in the hills above Oslo. Contemporary observers suggested the hut owners of Inner Oslo fjord only managed to buck this prevailing collectivist trend because of the state's desire to conduct a social experiment – offering hut sites to poor and "child-rich" families, to find out if permanent, weather-proof second homes encouraged "responsible" behaviour. (See footnote 115; page 172).

whatever the truth of this, Norway consciously constructed a cultural identity from the ancient, rural origins of the *bønde* and a life lived close to nature. The oldest political party in Norway -- *Venstre* (Left) -- was founded in 1884 by a broad popular movement of farmers and liberals, and led the drive to dissolve the union with Sweden in 1905. Its farmer leaders may not have been the revolutionaries of Russia, but then civil servants in Norway were not as loftily divorced from rural society as their pre-revolutionary Russian counterparts either.<sup>141</sup> Importantly, Norwegians of all classes were both city and country dwellers for most of the twentieth century. Indeed when the *Arbeiderpartiet* took four seats in the 1903 elections, three came from Troms County in Arctic

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<sup>140</sup> Heidar, *Elites on Trial*, pp. 20-21.

<sup>141</sup> Witoszek, *Regime of Goodness*, pp 78-80

Norway.<sup>142</sup> Rural support for Labour was doubtless prompted by the location of early industrialisation -- in rural not urban Norway -- and by the government's first important acts of nationalisation which focused on rivers, the generation of hydro power and extending collective control over Norway's natural assets.

Gellner and others connect the rise in European nationalism with modernisation and industrialisation.<sup>143</sup> Tore Grønlie suggests there were three main positions in the pre-war debate over foreign ownership of mines and rivers;

...a "liberal" stance that would give free rein to industrial capital, a "national capital" position that would give free rein to Norwegian capital and a "national democratic" position that would exercise control over capital from any source partly by selling access to waterfalls and mines on licence which allowed the resource to return to state control after a certain number of years (known as the reversionary right).<sup>144</sup> (See footnote 222 ; page 1)

Grønlie observes that *Venstre* (the Liberal Party) united around the "national democratic" position which was popular amongst workers and peasant voters.<sup>145</sup> Perhaps this offers a clue about the motives of the State and Liberal Party in 1922 when it leased out state land for the construction of family huts by workers from the East End of Oslo. The "social experiment" on Lindøya may simply have been an early example of the "reversionary right" in action – land leased out temporarily until Oslo was ready for port expansion and a different use by the state. Ingun Johanne Lyngø observes;

In the 1920s, the islands were depicted as a social experiment, where the state gave out hut sites using social criteria. Even though the question of how workers used their free-time was important, the huts initiative did not have a direct connection with that issue. From the state's point of view, the permission to build huts was just a temporary solution to the problems of hygiene and disposal of waste. That hutting became the best

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<sup>142</sup> I. Libæk and O. Stenersen, *A History of Norway: from the ice age to the oil age*, (Oslo: Grondahl, 1991) p.92.

<sup>143</sup> E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*; (New York: Cornell University,1988), pp. 58-62.

<sup>144</sup> Danielsen et al, *From the Vikings to Our Own Times* p. 329

<sup>145</sup> ibid p.99; "Norway lacked the capital to develop its own hydro capacity and the rights to waterfalls and hydro power were often sold cheaply by farmers anxious for capital to invest in their farms or for emigration to America. By 1906 three-quarters of the developed waterfalls were owned by foreigners."

solution was not because of the men from the state but the actual hut owners.<sup>146</sup>

Nevertheless, the political culture of the new Norwegian state placed a high priority on inclusion and citizenship. According to Professor John Bryden;

Norway was one of the 'mixed economy' countries that followed Karl Polanyi's analysis of the failure of market liberalism. The idea that the market is embedded in society and its institutions ... is perhaps best exemplified by the Norwegian approach. This idea is precisely the opposite of neo-liberals who believe that society, if it exists at all, should be embedded in the market.<sup>147</sup>

## Scotland

Like Norway, Scotland prospered in the period after 1750, playing a large part in the industrialization of Britain, and the creation of the Empire. While 1814 was a critical juncture for Norway in creating a large, broadly based electorate and parliament, Scottish democracy experienced no such transformation between 1707 and 1999. The Union of Parliaments (1707) brought Scotland under the control of a centralised Westminster government in London, more concerned with the expansion of Empire than deepening or widening British democracy -- though earlier and better education, earlier development of medical skills and a leading role in industrialisation, banking, insurance and shipping meant some Scots benefitted hugely from the Empire project. Through the Treaty of Union in 1707, Scotland gave up its Parliament for representation in the House of Commons and other London-based institutions. This was an entirely different direction of democratic travel to Norway;

While Norway in 1814 moved from colonial status under Denmark to a personal union with Sweden, Scotland went in the opposite direction; from a personal union with England and Wales (dating from 1603) to incorporation in the union of Great Britain.<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>146</sup> I.J. Lyngø, 'Fritid er sosial sak', in A. Klepp and L.E. Thorsen, (eds.), *Den mangfoldige fritiden*, (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1993) (translated from original Norwegian)

<sup>147</sup> J. Bryden et al, *Northern Neighbours*, p.29.

<sup>148</sup> *ibid*

The campaign for greater political representation in the nineteenth century, ended with the Scottish version of the Reform Act of 1832, which was a grave disappointment to campaigners.<sup>149</sup> Whilst Norway adopted proportional representation in 1919, Scotland stayed with ‘first past the post’ voting for Westminster elections with its polarizing and politically competitive effects, until a limited form of PR was brought in for Scottish Parliament elections in 1999. The Reform Acts of 1832, 1868 and 1884 did build on individual property ownership as a criterion for political citizenship, prompting the success of the Crofters Party in the 1885 and 1886 general elections when the party won five out of six crofting seats. But by 1900, Scottish farmers were still mostly tenants, dependent on the benevolence of landlords while Norwegian farmers were mostly independent smallholders beholden to no-one. Even though they had the vote after 1832 Scotland’s tenant farmers were subject to landlord pressure until the secret ballot was introduced in 1874. Also, landowners could create ‘faggot’ votes, by renting out land in order to create new voters. 1868 gave the vote to male ratepayers in urban Scotland but owning land was still necessary to vote in county council elections.<sup>150</sup> Even after the 1885 reforms, only 40 per cent of the adult male population of Scotland could vote.

While Norway was establishing its own parliament, constitution and preparing for independence, Scotland’s biggest constitutional development was the creation in 1885 of a Scottish Secretary within the British government, a post finally raised to Cabinet status in 1926. Until devolution and the restoration of a Scottish Parliament in 1999, Scottish democracy was largely shaped by parliaments and governments based in London, and the House of Lords, which for centuries defended the interests of the Scottish landowning classes, delaying the end of primogeniture for 38 years after its abolition in England and the establishment of National Parks for half a century after their introduction in England. Perhaps the most significant contrast with Norway was the frailty of the urban-rural alliance of the underprivileged.

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<sup>149</sup> ibid. Scotland’s population was 2.6 million people

<sup>150</sup> E.A. Cameron, *Impaled upon a Thistle*, (Edinburgh: EUP, 2010) pp. 56–9.

A progressive rural/urban alliance was the chief promoter of [Norway's] twin ambitions of democratic empowerment and national sovereignty. A similar movement never obtained a sufficient foothold in Scotland, a stagnation which can be attributed to institutional features such as electoral disenfranchisement and weak local government as well as cultural features such as the internal religious conflicts within the working class.<sup>151</sup> (See footnote 258; page 84)

The absence of an urban-rural alliance of the poor helped facilitate the exploitation of labour in Scotland with a ruthlessness that moved progressive industrialist Robert Owen to establish his New Lanark textile mill, and later led to Marx's analysis of the development of capitalism. The enduring nature of the class divide in Britain created confrontation rather than compromise in politics and industrial relations and produced non-consensual, single-party governments. Thus, in Scotland, industrialisation took place before any meaningful democratisation of society. In Norway, it was the other way around.

### **3.3 Urbanisation and housing**

Even though industrialisation came later in Norway and was less concentrated in one city or region than in Scotland, life in urban Oslo during the nineteenth century was insanitary and unhealthy. There was little an individual could do to avoid the threat of disease through overcrowding, drinking polluted water or the absence of water treatment and sewerage systems. Before 1873 public wastewater was discharged into open street gutters in the ground or rivers. Human waste (collected by "nightmen") was usually deposited in cesspools, which peasants from outside Oslo collected to use as manure. In 1873 Oslo's first health act banned "privy vaults" from connecting to the municipal sewerage system in case human waste transported via sewers, found its way to the harbour area and became a potential source of cholera.<sup>152</sup> Debate continued

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<sup>151</sup> J. Bryden et al, *Northern Neighbours*, p.44.

<sup>152</sup> V. Arnesen, 'The pollution and protection of the inner Oslofjord', *Ambio*, Vol 30 (2001), pp. 282-28.6

about how best to contain infection without making the *kommune* liable for collecting and treating wastewater. In 1898 health regulations allowed house owners to install water closets but water had to be purified at their cost before discharge into the municipal sewerage system.<sup>153</sup> Oslo's Akerselva river was so smelly and polluted in 1915 that politicians proposed covering its entire length - yet still thousands of workers spent almost every waking moment in factories located on its banks.<sup>154</sup> Oslo *kommune* finally gave interest-free loans to property owners to speed up the installation of water closets.<sup>155</sup> But not until there had been a cholera outbreak in 1908 and 7,206 new cases of tuberculosis between 1927-30.<sup>156</sup> Another aspect of city life beyond the individual's control was the quality of housing. "Home" in the city generally meant a flat not a house, which was rented, not owned without access to land or nature – a considerable change in living arrangements for the most recent arrivals from the country.

Table 3.1 demonstrates that the proportion of people living in flats soared between 1920 and the end of World War II. The average Oslo block apartment dweller in the 1920s had until recently owned a house and land in the country. Now s/he was most probably a tenant in an overcrowded and privately-owned tenement or a quasi-owner in a housing co-operative set up by Oslo *kommune*.

<b>Year</b>	<b>Single dwellings</b>	<b>Multiple occupancy</b>
1920	53,3	46,7
1946	42,6	57,4
1960	45,8	49,8
1970	47,2	49,4
1980	52,9	37,3
1990	58,1	40,5

**Table 3.1 Norwegian Housing types<sup>157</sup>**

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<sup>153</sup> T. Moland, *Historien om Akerselva*, (Oslo: Christiania Forlag, 2011). City Physician Bentzen, a keen advocate of water closets, said at a meeting of the Medical Device Society in 1912 there was "nothing more barbaric" than the way the city handled its waste products.

<sup>154</sup> Moland, Akerselva.

<sup>155</sup> Arnesen, Oslofjord (2001), "Numbers of water closets rose from 10,000 in 1929 to 46,000 in 1935, and 75,000 in 1940."

<sup>156</sup> Source: National Tuberculosis Register, Norway. TB numbers were first surveyed in 1927. Numbers of new cases weren't halved until 1945.

<sup>157</sup> Stats from *Statistics Norway* <https://www.ssb.no/en/statbank/table/06266/>

Technically cooperative residents did own their property but the *kommune* placed a cap on the price a flat could fetch on the open market and transfers between blocks were more common than outright sales. Thus, ownership of houses, flats and land in cities and the countryside was fairly normal in 20<sup>th</sup> century Norway. Table 3.5 shows the ratio of owners to tenants of land in 1939 (11-1). That year the number of farmers (214,378) and manufacturing workers (246,800) was roughly similar.<sup>158</sup> The total number engaged in agricultural and hunting was 423,300 – so every other farm worker was effectively his or her own boss and rented or more likely owned their own farm plus land. In a population of 3 million people, 1 in 15 Norwegians owned land in the late 1930s. Such was the continuing relevance of land in the lives of all Norwegian workers.

Year	Number of Holdings total	Sole income source	Principal source of income	Secondary source of income	Holdings owned	Holdings rented
1939	214378	83311	63842	66521	197260	17118
1949	213441	87000	54162	71503	194841	18600
1959	198315	77257	44620	75655	181611	16704
1969	154977	51186	31884	71423	140799	14178
1979	125302	38215	16351	69842	108754	16548
1989	99382	22578	16464	59568	84762	14620

**Table 3.2 Holdings by ownership and tenancy as source of income.**<sup>159</sup>

Table 3.2 also demonstrates how common it was to combine farming with industrial or retail work. In 1939 almost as many people were part-time farmers (secondary income source) as full-time (primary income source). Whilst “part-time” city life was possible in the smaller cities of Norway – it was almost impossible around Oslo. Unusually, 75% of the area around the capital (mostly the high moorland Marka) was privately owned at the start of World War II and another 15% was owned by commontys, creating a large buffer of

<sup>158</sup> <http://www.ssb.no/english/magazine/tab-2008-10-20-01-en.html>; Employed persons by kind of activity. Accessed March 2014

<sup>159</sup> Source: NOS Census of Agriculture and Forestry 1989. Total number of holdings with at least 5 decares agricultural area (1.2 acres). Rented - where 50% plus of agricultural area is rented.

“untouchable” land around the city.<sup>160</sup> This situation was almost unique in Norway where only a tiny amount of land has ever been privately owned by large estates over the last five centuries. Furthermore, Oslo *kommune* bought local forests round Oslo after 1889 to ensure recreation and clean drinking water, and later Aker *kommune* did the same – creating a second “buffer” of land designated for general public access not smallholdings. Thirdly, prime farmland around Oslo was expensive and price presented a barrier to casual farming or part-time use. Oslo’s newly arrived industrial workers were free to walk, occasionally camp and use communal *hytte* managed by trade unions, or factories in the area around Oslo. But they were not free to live, build on, or farm tiny patches of land as they could have expected to do in the days before moving to the city. The experience of acute food shortages meant Norway’s relatively scarce reserves of agricultural land were protected for national strategic reasons. Farmland still cannot be used for any other purpose and anyone buying a farm must demonstrate farming ability. So, most Oslo workers could be no more than glorified day-trippers into nature – and whilst this was already the norm in many other countries like Scotland – it was a novel and alien experience for Norwegians. Early industrial workers in Oslo who were forced to live as mere occupants of block apartments were perceived to have lost a lot. Yet even on the fjord, overnight stays and regular visits were strictly limited because Oslo fjord is a fairly enclosed basin, more like an loch than open sea with low rates of water replacement.<sup>161</sup> Oslo always faced challenges in dealing with rubbish, sewerage and farm chemicals and, in the 1920s, it was feared people holidaying on islands would increase water pollution. Indeed, in 1922, the state warned the new *hytte* dwellers of Lindøya that evidence of sea-littering would prompt immediate eviction.

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<sup>160</sup> Kjeldstadli, *Den delte byen*, p65

<sup>161</sup> The Akershus-Oslo County Council website gives a flavour of the long prevailing attitude; “The sheltered waterway of the Oslo fjord was historically the main transport route into Oslo from settlements along the coast of Norway and abroad. Today, one of the prime uses of the fjord is for leisure pursuits. The shore along the Oslo fjord is under severe pressure due to the enlargement or new construction of houses and second homes, despite over 20 years of attempts to restrict development through government policy.” <http://www.eurodyssee.eu/traineeship-offers/region-page.html?region=520> Accessed June 2019.

Housing shortages and poor living conditions in the 1900s led city workers to search the forests of Aker *commune* north of Oslo and other rail-connected municipalities like Lørenskog and Oppegård, where there were cheap plots and Building Acts did not apply until 1948.<sup>162</sup> With high prices and unemployment during and after World War I, many of these sheds became permanent housing. The result was no more palatable than life in one room by the stinking Akerselva – but probably cheaper. These “self-builders” constructed huts after work from wood collected in the forest or from packing cases “recycled” from the docks. The settlers accused the authorities in Aker and Oslo councils of trying to close them down despite the general housing shortage.<sup>163</sup> The Chief of Police in Aker *Kommune* opposed hut building because he thought this would give the green light for people to “build colonies of houses that do not meet the requirements of the Building Commission.”

In 1920, the municipal authorities in Lorenskog tried to control this “Indian Camp” by prohibiting a chimney and fireplaces in the cabins. But it wasn’t so easy to stop people’s own efforts to realise the dream of having their own home and garden.<sup>164</sup>

He argued the Commission should be extra vigilant about standards in “busy construction times like these” and complained about people “setting up unlawful houses everywhere. In a parliamentary inquiry in 1906, 142 hut builders accused the *commune* of refusing to grant them guarantees at the *Boligbanken* (a bank set up to lend money for new workers’ housing), claiming the council did not want “proletarian voices” or the extra expense of connecting water. Once such loans were available without guarantee in 1908 though, 400 workers seized the opportunity to build huts.<sup>165</sup> In 1909, Oslo *commune* bought the non-hutted bits of land around “settler villages” in *Solem skogen* and tried unsuccessfully to buy the hutting land too because of worries about

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<sup>162</sup> Lyngø, Hyttelivets, pp. 58-61.

<sup>163</sup> K. Kjeldstadli, ‘Byfolk på landet’, in *Oslo Bys Historie* 4 Oslo (1990), p.406.

<sup>164</sup> ibid, pp. 58-61.

<sup>165</sup> ibid pp 405-6

contamination of the river supply into nearby Lake Maridalen. By 1935 there were 2000 (mostly illegal) huts in Aker *kommune*. Some paid municipal taxes but once mass unemployment hit during the post war period many could not. Huts which had been used more like occasional sheds had become first homes for penniless families, “the summer *hytte* became the winter house and arthritis and tuberculosis set in.”<sup>166</sup> The pitiful spectacle of Norwegians living in lean-to shacks (with all the accompanying health and hygiene problems) and the problems experienced by the lowest paid in getting mortgages prompted Oslo *kommune* to start its own public housing projects, relocating settler families to city block housing. Labour ran Oslo council from 1916 until 1919 and in those three years dramatically improved workers’ housing and leisure provision and laid the foundations of *Hagebyen* (Garden Cities) to offer workers the best of both worlds – an affordable apartment in a detached house with a vegetable plot outside. Ullevål *Hageby* was built between 1918 and 1926 -- 116 buildings with 653 apartments making it the largest in Norway. However, by the time the apartments came to be sold, costs had risen and the homes were bought by the middle classes not workers. Today homes in Ullevål *Hageby* command some of the highest house prices in Oslo – ironically enough, exceeded only in price per square metre by *hytte* on Lindøya and Nakkholmen. Lille Toyen *Hageby* was established in 1917 with 318 apartments run by the council until it became a cooperative in 1957. Sogn *Hageby* was bought in 1917 but construction was delayed by recession until 1929. Housing shortages were still a massive problem in post war Norway with an estimated 125,000 units short in 1950. The post war Oslo Municipality had powers to requisition rooms in any dwelling deemed to be under-occupied and requisitioned 7,000 rooms and 764 whole flats between 1945-1954.<sup>167</sup> The scheme was unpopular and meant that for a decade, strangers were billeted in family homes. Perhaps the interest in building *hytte* was simply a way to find privacy and stability. After the Nazi occupation of

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<sup>166</sup> ibid p407

<sup>167</sup> F. Castberg, *The Norwegian way of life*, (London: Heinemann, 1954) p.43.

Finnmark, for example, it took just a few weeks to build *hytte* while reconstruction of first homes razed by the Germans took years.

New build outside the big cities, was mostly self-build or private build with councils regulating building sites, roads and infrastructure. *Husbanken* (The Norwegian State Housing Bank) was set up in 1946 and gave cheap loans with long repayment periods to self-builders. Deposits on new homes were low and could be paid for by work in kind – painting and general labouring. All of this deliberately encouraged rural workers to build and own their own houses where possible. In cities, *Husbanken* financed local cooperatives to create a housing type quite unlike council housing in Britain. Flats were privately but collectively owned by occupants but sale prices were fixed by the authorities and flats were often “bought” via waiting lists, offering city-dwellers relatively little choice in location (flats were drawn by lots) or type (flats were all built to the same plan and size). This had a great levelling effect and though by international standards the flats were of high quality they were uniform and standardised. Perhaps this created the appetite to own a *hytte* outside the city that would be less controlled and regimented and -- since it was hard to alter or improve flats – also meant there was spare cash to build them.

By the 1970s almost all Norwegians were housed in affordable homes usually complete with district heating. *Husbanken* had financed 875,000 homes occupied by 2 million Norwegians – two-thirds of all homes built after the war and almost eight out of ten Norwegian households owned their main residence. Anxieties about basic living standards were largely removed.<sup>168</sup> But the blocks were, featureless and identical. They afforded Norwegians very little “room to breathe,” escape other people, express themselves or customise their homes even by painting the front door a different colour -- an equally famous complaint about the council house culture of Scottish cities. But Norwegians had a weekly access to their own escape valve -- the *hytte*. Scots could only escape to the pub or bottle up their frustration for the annual trip “doon the watter,”

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<sup>168</sup> D. Rodnick, *Norwegians a study in national culture*, (Washington: Public Affairs, 1955), p.39.

## Scotland

According to housing historian Richard Rodger; “After England, Scotland was the most urbanised country in the world in 1911,” with 50% of the population living in settlements of more than 20,000 people.<sup>169</sup> Rodger notes this system of regional centres rather than a single dominant metropolitan city differentiated the Scottish urban system from the rest of Europe. Superficially, the spread of people across many town centres might seem to resemble Norway and offer the same easy access to neighbouring countryside to build huts. But there were crucial differences in the nature of Scottish urban development and particularly the conditions of urban housing.

The 1861 census was the first in Scotland to ask questions about housing conditions and the results were shocking. A third of “houses” consisted of one room roughly 14 by 11 feet in size (the “single end”) inhabited by five people. A survey the following year in Edinburgh showed 1,530 single ends had 6-15 inhabitants in each. Basically, people slept like sardines in rooms without furniture or sanitation and worked every day for ten to twelve hours without time off. Not all the inhabitants of the room were even family members - one Edinburgh family in ten lived in a single end with a lodger.<sup>170</sup> Hygiene suffered and disease was endemic. In 1861 Dundee had 91,664 inhabitants and just five WCs -- three of which were in hotels. One contemporary writer observed:

The absence of conveniences ... is a great preventative of thorough cleanliness and purity ... as a consequence, the atmosphere is foully tainted, and rendered almost unendurable by its loathsomeness at those periods when offal and nuisance require to be deposited on the streets.<sup>171</sup>

In 1861, the *Builder* journal observed of Edinburgh;

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<sup>169</sup> R. Rodger, ‘Urbanisation in 20<sup>th</sup> century Scotland’ in T.M. Devine and R.J. Finlay, (eds.), *Scotland in the twentieth century* (Edinburgh: EUP, 1996) p.10.

<sup>170</sup> T. Ferguson, *Scottish Social Welfare 1864-1914*, (Edinburgh: Harcourt Brace, 1958) p.246.

<sup>171</sup> W. Knox, *Industrial nation: work, culture and society in Scotland, 1800-present*, (Edinburgh: EUP, 1999), p.92.

We devoutly believe there are no smells in Europe or Asia which can equal in depth and intensity, the concentration and power, the diabolical combination of sulphurated hydrogen we came upon one evening in a place called Toddrick's Wynd.<sup>172</sup>

Yet even that was an improvement. In 1839 J. C. Symons, Government Commissioner investigating the condition of hand-weavers said of Glasgow;

I did not believe until I visited the wynds of Glasgow, that so large an amount of filth, crime, misery, and disease existed in any civilised country. In the lower lodging-houses ten, twelve, and sometimes twenty persons of both sexes and all ages sleep promiscuously on the floor in different degrees of nakedness. These places are, generally, as regards dirt, damp and decay, such as no person would stable his horse in.<sup>173</sup>

If urbanisation and terrible living conditions stoked up the desire for escape that underpinned the Norwegian *hytte* movement, they should have combined with explosive force in Victorian Glasgow and Edinburgh. But Scots lacked the Norwegian experience of living on family owned land and thus their ability to easily re-establish that connection and leave when city life became intolerable. Instead, urban Scots experienced a century of harsh city life before urbanisation really began in Norway. As a consequence, human health, social expectations (and the physical state of buildings) in Scottish cities were already in a bad condition before industrialisation had even begun across the North Sea. In 1861 an Edinburgh city centre tenement suddenly collapsed, killing 35 people. A young boy, Joseph McIvor was the only survivor.<sup>174</sup> His rescuers heard him shout from the rubble; "Heave Awa Lads I'm no deid yet". But this tragedy was not just about the design weakness of the tenement. It was also a judgement on appalling levels of overcrowding. By the 1800s, Edinburgh's oldest 8-10 storey stone buildings were already 300 years old and occupied by 5-10 times more people than originally intended. The Improvement Act of 1867

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<sup>172</sup>A. Massie, *Edinburgh*, (Edinburgh: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1994), p.143.

<sup>173</sup> Report from the Select Committee on the health of towns.

<https://archive.org/details/b24398044/page/n6/mode/2up> London 1840, p. 61. Accessed April 2017.

<sup>174</sup> <https://www.scotsman.com/lifestyle/lost-edinburgh-tenement-collapse-1861-1-3454467> Accessed March 2013.

brought in after the “Heave Awa” disaster let the council tear down the most dangerous buildings ... but overcrowding survived, even though a system of ticketing was introduced in Glasgow and extended to all Scottish burghs in 1903. A “ticketed” house or tenement had a metal plate on the door specifying the number of people allowed to live inside. Many Glasgow tenements were condemned by the Court of Guild, but since that meant no rent could be charged on them, they too were full to overflowing. Life was simply a grim struggle for survival. Dr James B Russell -- Glasgow’s pioneering Medical Officer -- said in 1888 of children who died young;

Their little bodies are laid out on a table or a dresser so as to be somewhat out of the way of their brothers and sisters who play, sleep and eat in their ghastly company. One in five of all who are born there (in Glasgow’s overcrowded slums) never see the end of their first year.<sup>175</sup>

Houses with no windows had disappeared by 1881 but single ends still made up 10% of the Scottish total in 1911. 94% of single ends in Edinburgh shared a toilet and 43% shared a sink. Living this way measurably damaged health -- infant mortality was 277 per 1,000 in the single ends of the Cowgate but just 46 per 1,000 deaths in the 3-4 roomed homes of Merchiston.<sup>176</sup> Babies born to the overcrowded poor were thus five times more likely to die – and if they survived, probably five times more likely to be malnourished, short, thin and bronchial. The Royal Commission on Housing in 1917 found “an almost unbelievable density” in Scotland compared to England.<sup>177</sup> According to social historian Christopher Smout;

There was no privacy, no play space, no work space, no place to get out of the tensions of family life, to think, relax or sulk. There was not even space to die. To say the Scottish Housing problem

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<sup>175</sup> T.E. Jordan, *The Degeneracy Crisis and Victorian Youth*, (New York: Suny, 1993), p.42.

<sup>176</sup> W. Knox, *Urban Housing in Scotland 1840-1940*, SCARAN online. Accessed May 2012

<sup>177</sup> S.G. Checkland, *The Upas Tree* (Glasgow: Glasgow University, 1976), p.20; The Royal Commission in 1917 found more than four people per room in 10.9 per cent of Glasgow houses (0.8 per cent in English cities), more than three people per room in 27.9 per cent (1.5 per cent in English cities) and more than two people in 55.7 per cent (9.4 per cent in England).

was of a different order of magnitude from the English is only the literal truth.<sup>178</sup>

The rapid urbanisation of the Victorian era was one factor. Thanks to early industrialisation, Glasgow's population trebled in the half century up to 1911. But squalid conditions continued. Clydebank was effectively a brand-new town in 1901 with a population of 30,000 (just 816 in 1871). But in 1911 four fifths of Clydebank houses contained just one or two rooms – as cramped as the century-old tenements of inner-city Glasgow. Cyclical unemployment associated with traditional heavy industries like shipbuilding and casual employment on piecework rates, from day to day or contract to contract meant weekly outgoings had to be kept to a minimum.<sup>179</sup> But there were other reasons for the persistence of chronic overcrowding in Scotland - high land prices, feudal land ownership and relatively high rents for new council homes. Of the houses built in Scotland in the period 1919-39, 67% were in the public sector, compared to just 26% in England. But those first council houses had high rents (around half a Dundee textile worker's wage.)<sup>180</sup> The feudal system meant developers had to pay an annual fee to original landowners, which pushed up land prices. Building standards were higher in Scotland but wages were also lower. Richard Rodger suggests real wages in Scottish burghs were 11-12% below that of big English industrial cities.<sup>181</sup> So Scots were unable and unwilling to risk spending the same proportion of income on housing as their southern cousins. Finally, able-bodied unemployed Scots had no legal right to the dole. All this was a recipe for high rents, low and irregular income, chronic overcrowding and chronic uncertainty. During the last hut-building century, the living standards of ordinary Scots were probably significantly worse than workers in Norway and the rest of the UK.

The 1918 Ministry of Reconstruction report 'banned' tenements and required new housing to be no more than two storeys tall and laid out 12

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<sup>178</sup> G. West, *Voicing Scotland: Folk, Culture, Nation*, (Edinburgh: Luath, 2013), p.67.

<sup>179</sup> S. Damer, *Glasgow Going for a Song*, (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990)

<sup>180</sup> Checkland, *The Upas Tree*, p.37.

<sup>181</sup> Rodger, *Urbanisation*, p. 32.

houses to the acre on garden city principles.<sup>182</sup> This was a signal to developers that tenements were a doomed housing type and private investment dried up, leading (in part) to housing shortages on the eve of war as shipbuilding, engineering and munitions workers poured into Glasgow and Clyde-side towns. Rents rose and rent strikes resulted in statutory rent restrictions (lifted after the war but resumed in 1920). It became clear that only a council building programme could end the problem of under-supply and high rents. But unlike the similar municipal housing drive in Norway there was a crucial difference. Residents in Scotland would be powerless tenants, not cooperative owners. The first phase of council housing (1918-24) built cottages for the skilled to free up accommodation further down the scale. It was too expensive and ended in 1924. Then prefabricated houses were tried – that ended in 1926. Slum clearance began in 1933 and reintroduced tenements “in the most threadbare and unpleasant form” like the concrete block, three-storey housing that recreated the inner slum “suburb” of Blackhill.<sup>183</sup> By 1945 housing need was massive. In Glasgow a quarter of a million people were on the council house waiting list, and the humble tenement was once again under attack as the “Battle of Glasgow” commenced. The Government wanted a quarter of a million people moved out but the City Engineer argued they should stay and live in 29 Comprehensive Development areas (nicknamed comprehensive demolition areas) in a flattened, cleared city centre full of modern, high-rise blocks circled by a new ring road. The resulting compromise saw the construction of new modern blocks – like the infamous 20-storey tower buildings in the Gorbals - New Towns like East Kilbride and Cumbernauld and huge housing estates like Drumchapel, Easterhouse and Castlemilk hurriedly built on the city’s periphery. Un-renovated tenements slipped further down the priority list. William McIlvanney described the grim result:

High Street, its tenement windows gutted by shadows, closes  
gaping like abandoned burrows, seemed as dead as Pompeii, a

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<sup>182</sup> C. McKean, *The Glasgow Story*, <http://www.theglasgowstory.com/story.php?id=TGSEF10>  
Accessed July 2012

<sup>183</sup> *ibid*

destination where people were frozen into the sordid postures of their grovelling lives.<sup>184</sup>

But there was not much residents could do about the situation – they were tenants not owners.<sup>185</sup> In 1971, 70% of Scottish households were public sector tenants compared to just 49% of households in England.<sup>186</sup> In 1981, the figures were 56% and 31% respectively.<sup>187</sup> The Scot, Noel Skelton, is thought to have coined the phrase “property owning democracy” - but his fellow countrymen were unable to join it.<sup>188</sup> This cross-border difference in housing tenure was prompted by the Housing Acts of 1919. In England the pendulum swung away from private renting towards home ownership. In Scotland, it swung towards council housing. It was two decades after Margaret Thatcher’s right-to-buy policy, before Scottish home-ownership reached the 50% mark and Scots did not reach the UK property owning average until 2003.<sup>189</sup>

A council flat meant little control over décor, location, repairs, surroundings or neighbours. A private flat meant a six-month lease with equally little control. In the countryside, getting a house was often Hobson’s Choice -- a tied house (on a peppercorn rent with probable eviction at the end of the job) or a tenant farmhouse with equally little say or security.<sup>190</sup> Indeed, the seeds of Scotland’s private slums and public sector “deserts wi windaes” had been sown centuries earlier -- on the land. Few of the Scots pushed and pulled into cities during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had ever known security in housing -- one reason for the speed of Scottish urbanisation. Without ownership

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<sup>184</sup> W. McIlvanney, *Docherty* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1975), p.37.

<sup>185</sup> T. Begg, *Housing Policy in Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Donald, 1996)

<sup>186</sup> In the public and private sectors combined.

<sup>187</sup> 1981 Scottish Census shows household split: 35 per cent owners, 56.2 per cent social renters, and 8.9 per cent private renters. English census 1981 showed 57.2 per cent owners, 31.7 per cent social renters, and 11. per cent private renters.

<sup>188</sup> Skelton first used “property owning democracy” in two *Spectator* articles in 1923. His Oxford Dictionary of National Biography entry notes, “He himself had meant a reinforcement of individualism through industrial profit sharing, agricultural smallholdings and cooperative schemes. But after Eden revived the phrase as a party slogan it became associated.... with state promotion of house ownership.” Interestingly Skelton’s “package” combined with widespread land ownership fairly well describes the Norwegian system.

<sup>189</sup> 1991 Scottish Census shows household split; 52per cent owners, 40.2per cent social renters, 4.9per cent private renters

<sup>190</sup> R. Rodger, *Scottish Housing in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century* (Leicester: Bloomsbury, 1988)

or long-term leases, families were easily removed. In 1863, Glasgow's first medical Officer of Health, W.T Gairdner observed;

Gross sanitary neglect inevitably leads to the production and multiplication of a class which is not only helpless and in a state of degradation ... but has in itself no power of redemption so that it becomes a truly parasitic class, living on the classes above it and absolutely precluded from every kind of spontaneous improvement.<sup>191</sup>

The big problem facing polite Scotland was what to do with this "dirty, criminal and improvident class", this "sunken tenth", this "residuum of the disreputable" as poor people were labelled.<sup>192</sup> Long hours (5am starts were common in the 1900s) combined with very low rates of pay and the constant fear of losing all income through injury or lay-offs. Tens of thousands of city workers were casually employed so whilst the average wage would finance life on the breadline, few workers in practice received average wages. The stress of working life had tangible health impacts beyond lack of nutrition:

Out of these conditions came the classic Glaswegian "wee bauchle" and "wee wummin." They were wee. Their diet was totally inadequate and not a few had rickets due to vitamin deficiencies and lack of sun in tenement streets. To accuse these workers of being slum-makers because they didn't want anything better is intolerable cant.<sup>193</sup>

Writing in 1979, Douglas Niven observed that the range of choice open to people seeking a home in Scotland was more limited than many parts of Eastern Europe.<sup>194</sup> Choice was restricted to two categories of new housing – public sector (council housing, New Town Housing and SSHA housing) and the private sector. Housing tenure across Europe was more diverse because of groups like housing associations, co-operatives (like those established in post war Norway)

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<sup>191</sup> S. Damer, 'Engineers of the Human Machine': The Social Practice of Council Housing Management in Glasgow, 1895-1939', *Urban Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 11 (2000) p.75.

<sup>192</sup> W.T. Gairdner, 'Clinical Observations in the Royal Infirmary of Glasgow', *British Medical Journal*, Vol. 1, 587 (1872): pp.334-5.

<sup>193</sup> Damer, *Glasgow Going for a Song*

<sup>194</sup> D. Niven, *The development of housing in Scotland*, (London: Croom Helm, 1979) p.15.

and other non-profit making bodies. In Scotland such voluntary and co-operative housing hardly existed at all. As a result, owner occupation was rising across the European community with England, Belgium and Italy in the lead (51%, 55% and 53% respectively) while Scotland occupied bottom position with just 31% in 1971. In 1963 only Ireland spent less as a share of GDP on housing than Britain. Ten years later, the proportion of GNP spent on all housing was 5.5% in Norway and 3.9% in Britain. 65% of housing investment in Scotland came from local authorities compared to 42% in the UK and just 3% in Norway.<sup>195</sup> Essentially, Scotland was building proportionally more public or state-owned and managed housing than any other country in Western Europe – and each inhabitant was a relatively powerless, landless tenant.

The widespread nature of tenancy as opposed to home ownership may have impacted on the development of hutting in Scotland. Spanish researchers conclude the propensity to own a second home is greater if the first home is owned and doesn't place a lifelong, regular strain on family finances. At some point the mortgage on a purchased home is paid up and cash is available for other projects, whereas tenants have a constant and never-ending demand for cash.<sup>196</sup> (See footnote 43 on page 24). This could be relevant for Scotland, which has traditionally had one of the lowest home ownership rates in Europe whilst Norway has had one of the highest.<sup>197</sup> In summary, working class Scots in the nineteenth and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries had little choice but to rent, whether they lived in the city or countryside. Few owned any land or a home, so few could build or bequeath a cottage or holiday home to their children as land-owning Norwegians had been doing for centuries.

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<sup>195</sup> Checkland, *The Upas Tree*, p.73.

<sup>196</sup> According to the 2001 Spanish census more than 82 per cent of households were homeowners, the greater part being outright owners. Tenants accounted for just over 11 per cent.

<sup>197</sup> 86.1 per cent in 2008 according to Trading Economics

<https://tradingeconomics.com/norway/home-ownership-rate> Accessed May 2015

### 3.4 Agriculture and rural depopulation

In Norway, as recently as 1910, 42% of the country's workforce was still engaged in agriculture and forestry. The exodus did not happen until after the Second World War when half of all farms were abandoned in the space of three decades.<sup>198</sup> Knut Kjeldstadli notes that the son of an urban male ironworker in the 1920s might earn double his father's wages around 1900. But for an agricultural worker, wages in the 1930s were 15 to 20% lower than before the First World War.<sup>199</sup> The historian Edvard Bull reported positive attitudes amongst traditional agricultural communities towards modern industrial life. Bull concluded that dissatisfaction leading to strikes and other labour conflicts was concentrated amongst workers distant from farming and thus unable to make comparisons with grim conditions on the land;

A man coming from farm work will say: "In the factory it was good, because ... we were free when the shift was finished". The point being that farm hands had no free time. They lived on the farm and had to be at the disposal of their master at any time, from very early in the morning till very late at night. Once industrial workers were more or less isolated from the old rural society, they ceased to compare their (new) conditions with those of the agricultural workers and labour conflicts followed.<sup>200</sup>

Bull's research showed pre-industrial peasant society also involved chronic overcrowding as well as long hours.

A saw-mill worker criticises the bad lodgings for workers in 1910, but he concludes that nobody else complained, because it was no worse than what they were used to as lumbermen or fishermen.<sup>201</sup>

Life on the land was very hard, even if summers in the *seter* (with milk and butter production, a change of venue, wild berry picking, trout fishing and

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<sup>198</sup> Danielsen et al, *From the Vikings to Our Own Times* p. 329

<sup>199</sup> K. Kjeldstadli, 'Åtte timer arbeid' in I.G. Klepp and R. Svarverud (eds.), *Idrett og fritid* (Oslo: University of Oslo, 1993), p. 78.

<sup>200</sup> E. Bull, 'Autobiographies of Industrial Workers', *International Review of Social History* 1 (1956), pp. 203-9.

<sup>201</sup> ibid

accommodation for hikers) offered variety and a degree of freedom. But the move out of farming did not cause a sizeable contraction in farmland because units simply became bigger. The greatest decline occurred in the smallest farms of 5-20 km<sup>2</sup> whose numbers halved whilst farms of 51-200 km<sup>2</sup> increased over the same period.<sup>202</sup> The deserted land was taken back into neighbouring farms and the houses generally became holiday homes for children leaving farms for education or work in the cities.<sup>203</sup> Slowly Norwegian *seter* turned into second home sites in a relatively un-contested and friction-free way.

Good grazing conditions motivated the establishment of a summer farm; a good summer farm motivated the building of a road; improved car access made the summer farm area attractive for second homes; second homes motivated a better road system; a better road attracted more traffic and the establishment of commercial tourism businesses; these provided a basis for better roads linking to other summer farm areas which increased the use of the accommodation in the low season.<sup>204</sup>  
(See footnote 240 ; page 79).

In Scotland, by contrast, the shieling tradition was in steep decline by the late eighteenth century. Shielings were hill pastures where “cows and stock were kept for six or seven of the summer months” -- the Scottish equivalent of the *seter*.<sup>205</sup> They had already died out in many parts of Scotland like the Borders with the advent of agricultural “improvement” and enclosure during the last two decades of the eighteenth century when new crops, rotations and methods of enclosure and field drainage were imported from England, radically changing patterns of rural employment. The shieling system in areas like Highland Perthshire depended entirely on landowner approval, so “improvement” meant the subtenant class was almost eliminated. Some became tenants while others became farm workers.

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<sup>202</sup> Danielsen et al, *From the Vikings to Our Own Times* p. 329.

<sup>203</sup> Flognfeldt, New rural lifestyle in Norway, pp. 234-5.

<sup>204</sup> Langdalen, Controversial planning, pp. 139–144.

<sup>205</sup> W. Marshall, ‘General View of the Agriculture of the Central Highlands of Scotland’ (London: Wright, 1794).

The advent of blackface sheep, cultivation of potatoes and flax and the enclosing of low and high farmland yield evidence of the weakening of the shieling custom. But it was the growing fashion of rich sportsmen to occupy hunting lodges and stalk red deer on hill ground cleared of people and stock, which finally sealed the fate of the waning shieling tradition in the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>206</sup>

Shielings, cleared by landowners as part of agrarian ‘improvements,’ were generally left empty rather than being drawn into neighbouring farms or allocated to extended family members as they were in Norway and other European countries. This meant rural depopulation did not become the engine for a second home culture that it did elsewhere;

Urbanisation and rural de-population seem to be the major driving forces [for second homes] although the availability of suitable land is clearly a precondition for development.<sup>207</sup>

That precondition, included almost as an afterthought by researchers from countries with more equitably distributed land, simply was not met in Scotland and the absence of suitable land acted as a considerable brake on second home development. The growth of leisure activities in Scotland were triggered by work patterns created by the same processes of industrialisation and large-scale urbanisation as other countries like Norway and Sweden, but these could not create economic demand for weekend huts.<sup>208</sup> The Norwegian state also wanted a self-sufficient farming sector and encouraged farms through grants and subsidies, helping small, remote units to survive.<sup>209</sup> Even when Norway did urbanise, it consciously used planning policy to maintain a network of regional urban hubs, developing employment in all parts of the county and bolstering existing settlement patterns.<sup>210</sup> Thus post war urbanisation took

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<sup>206</sup> A. Bil, *The Shieling, 1600-1840*, (Edinburgh: Donald, 1990), p. 289.

<sup>207</sup> Vagner, J. Muller et al, *Geografie*, pp .191–210.

<sup>208</sup> Kjeldstadli, ‘Åtte timer arbeid’, p.78.; “In a society where work does not dominate, the concept of leisure is meaningless.”

<sup>209</sup> Danielsen et al, *From the Vikings to Our Own Times*, pp. 251-2.

<sup>210</sup> S. Sørheim, ‘Rural Housing in Norway 2008’, in M. Satsangi and J. Crawford An Investigation of Occupancy Conditions in Rural Housing, (2009)

[www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2009/01/08143447](http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2009/01/08143447)

place across 66 towns and cities – not just one or two.<sup>211</sup> (Table 3.3) No one city in Norway grew as big as Glasgow, partly by policy design and also because the early hydro development saw income and control remain in municipalities and manufacturing industry located near rivers and dams – not large cities.

The decentralised nature of the new hydro-electric energy resource ... [in Norway] contrasted with nineteenth century industrialisation in Scotland, which used centralised and privately owned coal as the main power source, [prompting] rapid urban growth and migration. Urbanisation was both less, and slower to occur in Norway than in Scotland.<sup>212</sup>

Norwegian industrial policy was essentially a regional policy by way of subsidies, infrastructure improvements and hydroelectric power available across the country on long-term contracts at favourable prices.

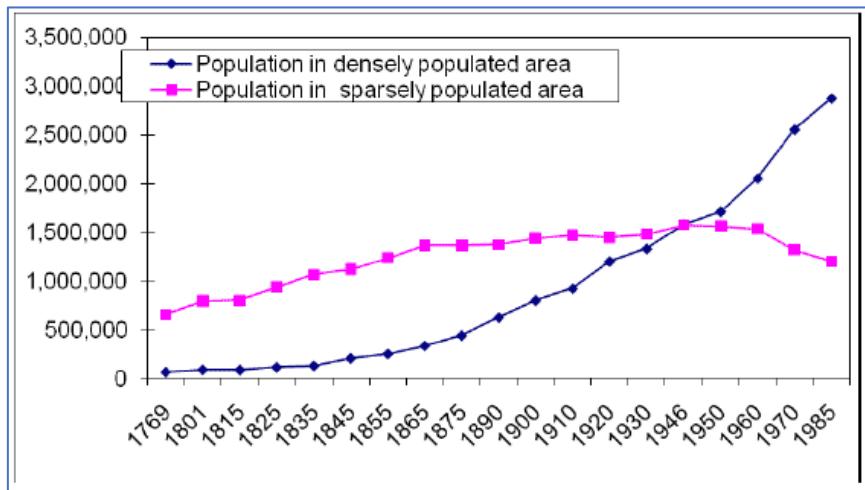


Table 3.3 Urbanisation Norway<sup>213</sup>

This meant most urbanised Norwegians were still close to the countryside, so after the early *seter*-based summer homes and nineteenth century coastal mansions built by the wealthy, a new wave of *hytte* was built within the range of cities so people could supplement their diet with the fish,

<sup>211</sup> The establishment of powerful municipalities in 1837 turned Norway into a country with self-governing local councils. This drove investment outside Oslo.

<sup>212</sup> J. Bryden et al, *Northern Neighbours*, p.25.

<sup>213</sup> Source: [www.ssb.no](http://www.ssb.no) Accessed November 2017

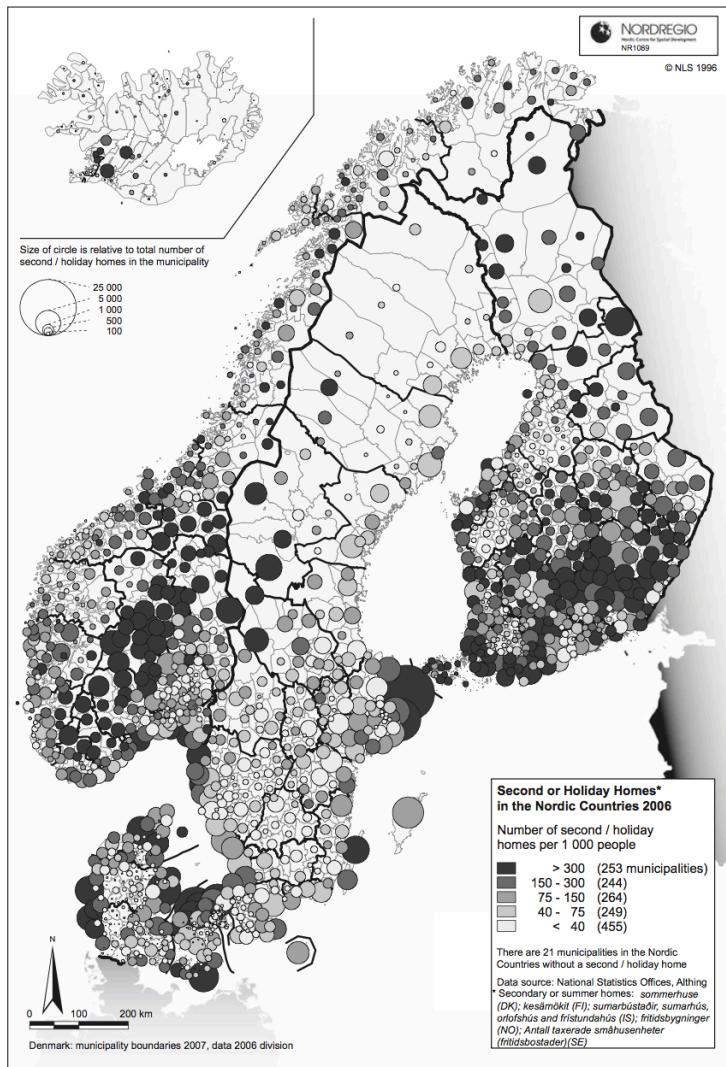
meat, eggs, berries and/or mushrooms they could find there. The *allemansrett* is often cited as the reason this was possible – but like Scotland’s historic right to roam it only allowed freedom of access to land. Hunting rights also had to be obtained from farmers. Again, this seems to have been unproblematic compared to Scotland, because of the diverse and small-scale nature of land ownership in Norway. The “landed classes” in the Norwegian countryside were peasant farmers who had long owned and sold land, welcomed visitors to boost farm income and run municipal councils since 1837 to reflect their own pro development attitudes – so no drawbridge was raised against city dwellers trying to access country living. In Norway affordable land was never as scarce a commodity as it became in feudal Scotland. This weakened demand for housing in the Norwegian rural property market and meant remote houses often remained in family ownership because selling would not raise much cash.<sup>214</sup>

Proof that urbanised Norwegians have generally managed to keep a “foot in both camps” is demonstrated by the proximity of *hytte* from the first home. (Figure 3.1) In Sweden 25% of all second homes are within 14 kms of the main (urban) residence, 50% within 37kms, and 75% within 98kms – although amenity-rich areas do disturb that pattern.<sup>215</sup> Likewise, Norwegians aim to be at huts with their families as often and quickly as possible. Proximity is vital, and that is enabled by the relatively rural location of much early Norwegian industrialisation.

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<sup>214</sup> Hall and Müller, Second homes, curse or blessing? Revisited, pp.12-13.

<sup>215</sup> Jansson and Müller, *Fritidsboende i Kvarken*, 2003



**Figure 3.1 Location/number of Nordic second homes<sup>216</sup>**

### 3.5 Industrialisation & industrial relations

Norwegian industrialisation may have been late and incomplete compared with the rest of Europe, but the change from life on the land was still huge. Crucially though, it coincided with growing awareness of the connections between bad working conditions, poor health, squalor, poverty, overcrowding - and political unrest. Before 1850, industry consisted largely of timber, mining and shipping

<sup>216</sup> J.M. Steineke, 'Nordic Topography of Second Homes', *Journal of Nordregio*, 3, (2007)

with very little manufacturing. From the 1840s till 1890s, manufacturing industry used power from rivers, waterfalls and dams to create goods for export, prompted by Britain's decision to end its export ban on manufacturing equipment in 1842 and to cancel the Navigation Acts in 1849.<sup>217</sup> These measures allowed Norway's merchant fleet to flourish and prompted the first textile mills and engineering workshops to be built in Oslo using power from the waterfalls on the Akerselva River and near Bergen and Trondheim.<sup>218</sup> Steam engines became the source of power for sawmills, which supplied Norway's first pulp mill manufacturing paper at Sagene in Oslo, which opened in 1863. By 1890 there were 60 pulp mills. The population in Oslo increased from 8,931 in 1801 to 31,715 in 1855 and the number of factories more than doubled in one decade.<sup>219</sup> A third phase of industrialisation began after 1900 when the power of water in rivers and waterfalls was harnessed to create electricity. Once it became possible to transport electricity for longer distances, proximity to a natural energy source was no longer required. This led to a rapid expansion of Oslo as a city. Between 1865 and 1900 the urban population increased from 15% to 30% of the total. Oslo's population grew from 75,000 in 1870 to 230,000 in 1900 and in that year manufacturing industry accounted for 28% of GNP and employed over a quarter of the country's active labour force.<sup>220</sup> Although Oslo's population boomed, new heavy industries also developed outside the cities and farming thrived, providing food for the new urban centres. Norway's first cellulose factory opened in 1874 at Sarpsborg, 60 kms south of Oslo. In 1905 Norsk Hydro was set up by Norwegian industrialist Sam Eyde (with foreign backing) to produce nitrates.<sup>221</sup>

Hydroelectric plants were established all over Norway, and helped keep the industrial population dispersed and based outside cities. After independence, the new Norwegian state effectively nationalised its rivers via

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<sup>217</sup> F. Stagg *East Norway and its frontier*, (London: Allen & Unwin, 1956), p.56.

<sup>218</sup> Moland, *Historien om Akerselva*, pp7-9; The Akerselva is about nine kilometres long. It has 20 main waterfalls, and a combined drop of 149 metres.

<sup>219</sup> *ibid*

<sup>220</sup> O.H. Grytten, *Economic Policy and Labour Markets in Nordic Countries* paper for XIV International Economic History Congress, Helsinki (2006), Session 10

<sup>221</sup> Libaek and Stenersen, *A History of Norway*. P100

the Concession Laws of 1906–1909, after discovering many had been bought up by foreign (often English) industrialists and investors.<sup>222</sup> The income from the hydro dams built on these rivers, flowed directly to county and municipal councils rather than central government and when North Sea Oil was found in the 70s, its exploitation followed the hydro template:

The natural resources on the Norwegian Continental Shelf should benefit the entire nation, its exploitation should be under national management and control [via] a state, not a private, oil Company.<sup>223</sup>

As a result of this, Norway's central and local governments were able to keep controlling stakes in all the country's key natural resources from land to hydro-electricity and oil, and used the proceeds to develop and maintain viable towns and local communities across the country. By 1911 several fertilizer factories had been built around Telemark and three-quarters of Norway's present railway network was complete enabling goods to be moved more easily around the country.<sup>224</sup> Unlike Britain, Norway had no empire to draw on during its early industrialisation so it had extra cause to safeguard its own natural resources. Norway emerged strongly after the Second World War when its GNP tripled in real terms between 1946 and 1973. This post-war boom was happening throughout Europe and Britain, but in most countries it had faded by the 1970s, and in Scotland, heavy industries like steel and shipbuilding were in a weak position by the 60s due to under-investment. In Norway, post-war regulation and rationing stayed in place; New house or hut building was dependent on permits, material quotas and licences for foreign currency. Doubtless all of this restraint stoked up a desire for rationed goods like huts and encouraged the self-build tradition. Thereafter, Norwegian GNP rose annually, average pay in real terms more than doubled, statutory holidays increased to four weeks in 1964. Car numbers increased twelvefold between 1949 and 1974

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<sup>222</sup> J. Bryden et al, *Northern Neighbours*, p.107.

<sup>223</sup> ibid

<sup>224</sup> Moland T *Historien om Akerselva*, (2011)

and income remained fairly equal in comparison to Britain.<sup>225</sup> (See footnotes 236 & 237 page 93). Many people used their new income and mobility to build and visit a family *hytte*.<sup>226</sup> Klette shows how Norway caught up with and overtook per capita GDP in the OECD over the last century.<sup>227</sup> He pinpoints three stages: 1900-1920, 1920- 1970, and 1970-today. Hodne and Grytten observe that during each stage, when Norway's growth accelerated dramatically relative to other countries, it was associated with a powerful combination of technology and natural resources (hydro power and oil).<sup>228</sup> Indeed, economic policies in Norway during the twentieth century were focused on democracy, education, and public rather than private power. Sharing responsibility and distributing control were explicit policy goals.

In Scotland, it was very different. One of the key economic benefits of the Union with England in 1707 was that Scotland gained access to the British Empire and wider markets for its rapidly growing manufacturing industry. Initially this was mainly based on textiles but from the mid nineteenth century, it included heavy industries, particularly marine engines, railway locomotives, shipping and steel. By 1850, the Clyde was producing two-thirds of the tonnage of iron vessels in Britain. Coal production more than doubled after 1830 to reach 7.4m tons in 1851.<sup>229</sup> Within a very short space of time, Scotland had become more industrialised than the rest of Britain.<sup>230</sup> By 1903, Glasgow was the 'biggest locomotive-manufacturing centre in Europe, with engines being produced in large numbers for the Empire, South America and continental countries'.<sup>231</sup> Scotland's feudal landownership structures facilitated 'enclosures' and 'clearances' to create the large landless class that was crucial for this kind of

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<sup>225</sup> A civil servant whose disposable income was 80% higher than a worker in 1950 was only 60% higher in 1975. A married pensioner couple in 1960 had 30% of an industrial worker's disposable income. In 1970 it was 45%. Grønlie P386 (1995)

<sup>226</sup> In 1970 there were 190,000 holiday cottages in Norway, one for every seven houses. The owner in his newly acquired holiday time had built almost 75 per cent of them since 1945. Statistics Norway

<sup>227</sup> T.J. Klette, 'Økonomisk vekst', in *En strategi for sysselsetting og verdiskaping*, (Oslo: OUP, 2000), pp. 510-526.

<sup>228</sup> Hodne, F and O. H. Grytten *Norsk økonomi 1900-1990* (Oslo: OUP, 1992), pp. 113-135.

<sup>229</sup> Knox, *Industrial nation*, p.254.

<sup>230</sup> *ibid* p36

<sup>231</sup> Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, p.250.

industrialisation and the accumulated wealth of the aristocracy and the wealthy trading class created a banking system to support more development.<sup>232</sup>

In nineteenth century Scotland, the links between coal mining, iron and steel, heavy engineering and shipbuilding, meant a concentration of ownership, so the failure to reinvest profits in modernisation eventually had profound consequences. Scotland's manufacturing sector was also too focused on iron, steel, shipbuilding and other heavy engineering industries, all dependent on export demand, and too little focused on rapidly growing domestic consumer demand. The two world wars saved these heavy industries temporarily, but after World War II, shipbuilding and railway engines faced increasing international competition from the USA, Germany and Japan. After a brief period of focus on 'indigenous industry' by the Scottish Development Agency in the 1960s, support for the traditional industries faltered in the 1970s and was effectively ended by the Thatcher government in the 1980s. The focus switched to 'industrialisation by invitation', especially on inward investment by US multinationals in office machinery and light manufacturing. These multinationals preferred a non-unionised workforce, and reinforced Thatcher's anti-Union policies from the 1980s. While other comparable countries managed to expand shipbuilding and heavy engineering, particularly Germany, Japan, and Norway and adopt new techniques, Scotland failed to do so. According to Professor John Bryden

The discovery of North Sea oil in the late 1960s and its exploitation in the 1970s provided little or no succour to Scotland's indigenous industries, as it came at a time when the industrial base was weak and failing. Activity mainly benefitted US multinationals, while tax revenues accrued to the Westminster government and were used to bolster the Thatcher neo-liberal project. The UK also became highly dependent on inward flows of investment, especially from the USA, with the result that much of the profit leaked out from Scotland."<sup>233</sup>

Norway's industrialisation may have appeared distinctive because of its relatively late appearance but perhaps the more meaningful difference was the

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<sup>232</sup> J. Bryden et al, *Northern Neighbours* P107-111

<sup>233</sup> Ibid. p. 27.

absence of large-scale dispossession and displacement of peasants, the decision to regard energy resources as a collective rather than a private asset and a regional policy, which dispersed jobs and investment around Norway and helped create stable communities even in the remotest areas.

### **3.6 Nation building and cultural identity**

Norway's political leaders decided the "real" character of its nation could be found not in industry or urban life, but in the inland valleys – as far away as possible from the influence of "Mother" Denmark. High art – literature, music and painting in the nineteenth century – may have been produced in Oslo but was often inspired by life in rural areas. A cultural and political circle of artists and scientists called the *Lysakerkrets* (Lysaker Group) aimed to close the gap between rural and urban culture in the interests of advancing national cohesion.<sup>234</sup> The group included artists like Erik Werenskjold, academics like Moltke Moe, the nationalist historian Ernest Sars and the explorer Fridtjof Nansen. Nansen's speech before the dissolution of the Union with Sweden in 1905 made a powerful link between the agrarian past and the independent future of Norway.<sup>235</sup> (See footnote 271 ; page 87) The same ancient connections had been invoked by the President of the Norwegian Constitutional Assembly , Georg Sverdrup, almost a century earlier when the Constitution was first launched.<sup>236</sup> Miroslav Hroch suggests there was a three-stage evolution of nationalism in Norway.<sup>237</sup> The first phase consisted of a non-political and mostly cultural, literary and "folkloric" focus on national identity by a narrow

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<sup>234</sup> Libæk and Stenersen, *A History of Norway*. p.93.

<sup>235</sup> ibid. p.93. Author quotes Nansen in a speech about reconciliation made a few weeks before the Union was dissolved "Unity has never distinguished Norwegians. The distance in our country between one farm and the next is so great that neighbours could not consult over every trifling matter; each made up his own mind, self-sufficient and confident of his own abilities. This self-willed inclination flourished most wonderfully in Ibsen who formed the maxim that the man is strongest who stands alone. But let us believe that once we do reach agreement, that will which ties us together can become an invincible force."

<sup>236</sup> F.A. Og, *The Governments of Europe*, (Oslo: Gutenberg Press, 1913); "It is then raised once more inside the ancient boundaries of Norway, the throne which was used by (King "Haakon the Good" who ruled 933-959) and Sverre, (Sverre Sigurdsson, King of Norway 1177 to 1202) from where they ruled old Norway with wisdom. God save old Norway."

<sup>237</sup> M. Hroch, 'From National Movement to the Fully Formed Nation', *New Left Review* 1/198, (1993).

intellectual elite. A second phase of “patriotic agitation” dominated the years 1814-40 and the third stage, in the last half of the nineteenth century, focussed on expressive nationalism and popular movements as Norway transformed itself from a poor producer of primary raw materials – timber, pulp and paper – into a relatively prosperous state with mechanised agriculture, value-added products and a powerful merchant fleet.



**Figure 3.2 Eric Werenskiold (1855-1938) A Peasant Burial**

A broad cultural movement developed, heavily influenced by German Romanticism in literature, music, theatre and art (Figure 3.2) and there was growing demand for written Norwegian in schools. Wild, inhospitable mountains became national images and from the middle of the century Norway’s “mountain home” provided inspiration for paintings, music and poetry. (Figure 3.3).



**Figure 3.3 Otto Sindling (1842-1909) View of Reine in Lofoten**

Matti Goksøyr suggests there was also a fourth phase of nation building early in the twentieth century – the process of shaping a national identity within the newly established independent state. He contends that national identity was not static and new generations, classes and ethnicities had to be involved afresh and won over.

After independence was won the task was to make it truly national – not just the property of the middle classes. The search for national identity that had been so clear in the period 1880-1905 was, in the inter-war years, succeeded by a concern to consolidate that identity by integrating ever-larger sections of the population into a common culture that functioned at a popular level.<sup>238</sup>

The state-sanctioned move to give island hutting sites to Oslo workers in 1922, seems an ideal fit with Goksøyr's fourth phase of Norwegian nation building. It certainly helped integrate one section of the population into the common culture of *friluftsliv*. It also helped consolidate Norway's new national identity as a more egalitarian society than either Sweden or Denmark, with an overwhelmingly rural "common culture".

Norwegians were looking to differentiate themselves from Sweden as they took the bold step of dissolving the union in 1905 – instantly becoming

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<sup>238</sup> M. Goksøyr, 'Phases and functions of nationalism: Norway's utilization of international sport in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 12:2, (1995), pp. 125-146.

Europe's second poorest country. During this nation-building period, many writers sought to valorise everything connected with nature in a bid to create points of distinction between Norway and Sweden.<sup>239</sup> Norwegian heroes were people like Nansen, Roald Amundsen and Thor Heyerdahl who challenged the forces of nature by skiing to the poles or crossing the oceans on wooden rafts. Yet, despite the daring and classically masculine feats of physical endurance for which they became world-renowned, these exceptional explorers all acknowledged the importance of their rural origins and country childhoods largely shaped by women.

Women and children were responsible for taking cows to the high pastures and lived all summer in the *seter* (summer farm or shieling). Berry picking, moss gathering, and mushroom picking also went on with the aim of filleting nature – selectively foraging every last usable thing it could safely provide. Thus the high mountain life was not exclusively masculine and *koselig* (cosy) features softened the bleakness of mountain surroundings.<sup>240</sup> (See footnote 204 ; page 67) This seems to have been important in creating almost universally warm, fond memories of childhood in the fjords and fjell of Norway and writers like Ellen Rees suggest modern Norwegian cultural identity is still based on literary works located in this liminal zone between wild country and agriculture – between the *seter* and the *hytte*.<sup>241</sup> Others suggest hunting, fishing and hiking form the modern way to realise the *friluftsliv* ideal upon which Norwegian society is based.<sup>242</sup> Nina Witosek argues that Norwegians have no urban culture at all, and that everything praised, coveted and socially desirable lies in Norwegian nature.<sup>243</sup> She quotes the nineteenth century Romantic poet

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<sup>239</sup> S. Rokkan and R.W. Urwin, 'The Politics of Territorial Identity: Studies in European Regionalism', *Urban Studies* Vol. 26, No. 3 (June 1989), pp. 340-355.

<sup>240</sup> B. Gjerdåker, Continuity and Modernity in R. Almås, *Norwegian Agricultural History*, (Trondheim, Tapir, 2004), pp. 234-93.

<sup>241</sup> E. Rees, 'Det egentlige Norge – hytte i norsk litteratur 1814-2005', in F.A. Jorgensen, H.J. Gansmo, T. Berker, *Norske hytte i endring* (Trondheim: Tapir, 2011), pp. 23.

<sup>242</sup> G. Vittersoe, 'Norwegian Cabin Life in Transition' in *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism* 7; 3 (2007) pp. 266-280.

<sup>243</sup> N. Witosek, 'Nature, Knowledge and Identity', in M. Teich, R. Porter and B. Gustafsson; *Norway in Nature and Society in historical context*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1997), pp. 214-5.

Henryk Wergeland who said (ironically); “The Mountains are, in the last instance, our best Norwegians” and observes;

So strong was the equation between nature and nationality that.... the Norwegian patriots of the nineteenth century [regarded] the city as a parasitopolis despoiling native ground. Urban culture, associated with extra-terrestrial (ie Danish) clergy, bureaucracy and townsfolk was alien to the folk spirit. It was nature not culture that was national.<sup>244</sup>

Witoszek believes the Norwegians were “too worldly, pragmatic and Protestant to fully identify with rapture and the overwrought aesthetics of excess.” But she acknowledges that independence campaigners successfully deployed Norway’s exceptional landscape to create a sense of distinctiveness which bolstered national confidence.

Nature relieved the Norwegians from having to apologise for their lack of castles, cities, ruins and libraries. The vast reserves of mountain, fjords and forests functioned as castles and cathedrals. Nature became the sole expression of national heritage and the city as a symbol of progress and enlightenment – Wordsworth’s “place of wonder and obscure delight” -- became something Norwegian patriots were inclined to disown.<sup>245</sup>

For twentieth century Norwegian nationalists, even language had its home in rural culture. One of the languages created upon independence, Nynorsk, was based on western dialects found “in peasant cottages in our valleys and on our seashore” and was described by its supporters as “true Norwegian speech.”<sup>246</sup>

Peasants and country dwellers had considerable clout compared with rural Scots. Until 1870, three-quarters of Norwegians lived in rural areas with no native nobility.<sup>247</sup> The rest of the traditional ruling class was also generally absent since Danish bureaucrats lived in cities forging closer ties with urban professionals than rural landowners. So for Norwegian peasants the

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<sup>244</sup> ibid, p.214.

<sup>245</sup> ibid, p.214.

<sup>246</sup> <https://norwegianacademy.com/ny-norsk-or-bokmal/> Accessed March 2016

<sup>247</sup> J. H. Westergaard, ‘Scandinavian Urbanism: A Survey of Trends and Themes in Urban Social Research in Sweden, Norway and Denmark’, *Acta Sociologica*, vol. 8, no. 4, (1965), pp. 304–323.

countryside was a relatively uncontested arena (though by no means an easy existence) whilst cities contained uncontrollable, “foreign” influences.

In Victorian Scotland, however, peasants had no experience of security in either the countryside or the city. Wherever they lived, workers were generally forced to rent not own and therefore lived with the constant possibility of eviction, rent increase or clearance and the landed gentry continued to be politically, socially and culturally powerful. When the independent Scottish state was formally dissolved in the Treaty of Union, culture became the standard bearer of Scottish identity. But in the Gaelic-speaking parts of Scotland, Highland culture was outlawed in post-Culloden legislation and the nineteenth century clearances removed Gaelic and Scots speakers along with their languages and traditions.<sup>248</sup> British cultural values became the safest to espouse and highbrow English traditions the most profitable to learn.

The 1746 clampdown and associated loss of clan power, along with clearance and emigration led to a near collapse in some Highland traditions. Wearing the plaid in the aftermath of Culloden was enough to get you killed - although Sir Walter Scott and Queen Victoria safely reinvented the kilt a century later.<sup>249</sup> The MacCrimmons' piping school closed in the 1770s after traditional pipe-playing was banned.<sup>250</sup> But piping in Scottish regiments of the British army was on the rise. As Calum MacLean observed in *The Highlands*:

The Hanoverian regime ... formulated the brilliant policy of enlisting the ‘secret enemy’ to destroy him as cannon fodder. Highlanders were again dressed up in kilts and, by the ingenious

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<sup>248</sup> C.A. Withers, ‘Geography of Language: Gaelic-Speaking in Perthshire, 1698-1879’ in *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* Vol. 8, No. 2 (1983), pp. 131-135. In 1879, only 16% of Highland Perthshire spoke Gaelic – down from 38% a century earlier

<sup>249</sup> D. McCrone, *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Nation*, (Oxford: Routledge, 2002), p. 133; The Act of Proscription 1747 says: ‘No man or boy, within that part of Great Britain called Scotland, other than shall be employed as officers and soldiers in his Majesty’s forces, shall on any pretence whatsoever, wear or put on the clothes commonly called Highland Clothes (that is to say) the plaid, philibeg, or little kilt, trowse, shoulder belts, or any part whatsoever of what peculiarly belongs to the highland garb; and that no tartan.’ Carrying weapons had already been banned in the Disarming Act of 1716.

<sup>250</sup> J.G. Gibson, *Traditional Gaelic Bagpiping 1745–1845*, (Montreal: London, 1998), p.127.

use of names such as Cameron, Seaforth and Gordon; old loyalties were diverted into new channels.<sup>251</sup>

Meanwhile there were (at least) two versions of place-names as English-speaking mapmakers found their way to the most distant parts of Scotland. They did not speak Gaelic and locals did not speak English so the map-makers inevitably changed what they found. The resulting misnaming, loss of local meaning and subsequent resentment paralleled the process of map-making in Ireland, later critiqued by playwright Brian Friel in his play *Translations*. In Scottish dance, many of the enduringly popular 'Highland Dances' like the Gay Gordons and Dashing White Sergeant, sprang from the English military barracks, rather than Scotland's own indigenous traditions.<sup>252</sup> As the Englishman Edwin Landseer painted the classic image of the Scottish Highlands, *The Monarch of the Glen* in 1851, thousands of Scots were being cleared from surrounding hillsides to make way for deer. This idealised view of deer in an empty Highland landscape became the defining depiction of rural Scotland – for visitors. But for native Gaels, a more genuine portrait had been penned a century earlier by Duncan Ban MacIntyre, an Argyll ghillie whose epic poem *In Praise of Ben Dorain* was recited from memory to a pibroch pipe tune. Ben Dorain was transcribed by the son of a neighbouring minister, and later translated into English by the eminent poet Iain Crichton Smith who said of it:

Nowhere else in Scottish poetry do we have a poem ... with such a wealth of varied music and teaming richness and language. The devoted obsession, the richly concentrated gaze, the loving scrutiny has created a particular world, joyously exhausting area after area as the Celtic monks exhausted page after page in the Book of Kells<sup>253</sup>

Few Scots would now recognise the name of Duncan Ban MacIntyre but most are familiar with Landseer's *Monarch* and the accompanying idea of a people-

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<sup>251</sup> C. I. MacLean, *The Highlands*, (Edinburgh: Batsford, 2006), p.63.

<sup>252</sup> Riddoch, Blossom, p.295.

<sup>253</sup> I.C. Smith, *Towards the Human*, (Edinburgh: 1986) pp. 134-135.

free, hunting-dominated “wilderness” beyond Scotland’s cities. According to Katherine Haldane Grenier;

Victorian men participated in a range of what William Hamilton Maxwell termed ‘manly pastimes’ in the Highlands: hunting, fishing, hiking, camping, climbing mountains. Renditions of parts of the Highlands, such as the Cuillins, as ‘desolate’, ‘sterile’, and ‘inaccessible’ implicitly elevated the achievements of those who went there.<sup>254</sup>

She contends that the ‘subjugating face of tourism’ changed the image of Scotland beyond and even within the country itself;

As the pace of economic and social transformation intensified in England, English tourists came to envision the north as a place immune to change and understood journeys there to be antidotes to the uncertainties of modern life. While praised as the home of preindustrial virtues, Scotland was also valuable as a place “rooted in the past”. The rhetoric of tourism increasingly froze Scotland in time in the nineteenth century.<sup>255</sup>

This cultural colonialism was not confined to the Highlands.<sup>256</sup> Edinburgh’s New Town became the physical embodiment of Hanoverian success at Culloden. The practical need to expand beyond the overcrowded Old Town in 1767 was harnessed to a political desire to reassert the primacy of the newly created British state.<sup>257</sup> Meanwhile the dual processes of urbanisation and industrialisation were pulling rural Scots and impoverished Catholic Irish workers into Glasgow, transplanting languages and religious loyalties and creating cultural rivalries which still exist to this day. Instead of creating a unified working class with a shared experience of loss, Ireland and the

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<sup>254</sup> K. Haldane Grenier, *Tourism and Identity in Scotland 1770-1914*, (Oxford: Routledge, 2005) p. 110.  
<sup>255</sup> ibid

<sup>256</sup> V.D Alexander, ‘The Cultural Diamond - The Production of Culture’, *Sociology of the arts: exploring fine and popular forms*, (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell,2003), p.86. “Cultural colonialism is the desire of wealthy nations to control other nations’ values and perceptions through cultural means, such as media, language, education and religion, for their own economic reasons. It is argued that people, once subject to colonial or imperial rule, latch onto physical and cultural differences between the foreigners and themselves, leading some to associate power and success with the foreigners’ ways. Cultural colonialism leads to the foreigners’ ways being regarded as the better way and being held in a higher esteem than previous indigenous ways

<sup>257</sup> Riddoch, Blossom, p.298.

Highlands and Islands provided large and often competing ‘reserve armies of labour’ which helped keep wages in industrial Scotland persistently lower than in England.<sup>258</sup> (See footnote 151 ; page 51) In 1935, Edwin Muir observed in *A Scottish Journey*:

Glasgow is not Scotland at all... it is merely an expression of industrialism, a process [which has] devastated whole tracts of countryside and sucked the life and youth out of the rest, which has set its mark on several generations in shrunken bodies and trivial or embittered minds.<sup>259</sup>

Thus, until recently, Scottish culture has been identified not as a source of strength but of confusion and weakness:

Scottish culture is characterised as split, divided, deformed. This is a not unfamiliar view of Scottish culture, epitomised by Walter Scott, in which Scotland is divided between the ‘heart’ (representing the past, romance, ‘civil society’) and the ‘head’ (the present and future, reason, and by dint of that, the British state)<sup>260</sup>

It is no coincidence then, that Scotland developed as a tourist destination only after the Jacobite Rising of 1745-6 and the subsequent clearance of people in favour of deer, sporting estates and sheep. Indeed, some of the roads used for tourist were originally built for the military suppression of Highlanders pre and post Culloden. Scotland originally became popular with English visitors because continental Europe was closed during the Napoleonic wars and developed a tourism industry faster than mountainous Wales primarily because of Sir Walter Scott, whose novels reshaped the image of rural Scotland and rebellious Scots into something noble but entirely unthreatening. Under Scott’s influence, the British royal family, led by George IV and then Queen Victoria, made the Scottish Highlands fashionable. By the 1820s local papers were commenting on the influx of tourists -- 30,000 were said to have come to the Highlands after Scott published *Lady of the Lake* in 1810, establishing the vogue for cruising

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<sup>258</sup> W.A. Lewis, ‘Economic Development with Unlimited Supplies of Labour’, *The Manchester School*, Vol 22 Issue 2 (1954), pp. 139-91.

<sup>259</sup> E. Muir E *Scottish Journey*, (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1979), p. 102.

<sup>260</sup> McCrone, Understanding Scotland, pp. 129-130.

along Loch Katrine.<sup>261</sup> (See footnote 299 ; page 94) By the 1850s a railway through the Highlands was being proposed with an expected 50,000 passengers a year. “By the mid nineteenth century Scotland had virtually become an adventure park for those with the money or inclination to partake of its pleasures”.<sup>262</sup>

Eric Simpson observed that the ideal Highland sporting estate was a man-made wilderness with plenty of deer to stalk and no crofters to bother the sporting tenants.”<sup>263</sup> The “shooting box,” used by English gentlemen during deer and grouse shooting, is one of the first types of hut mentioned in Scottish literature.<sup>264</sup>

Royal approval was another important factor that helped turn the Highlands into a playground for the rich. Prince Albert’s purchase of Balmoral in 1853 as a holiday home set the trend for other wealthy incomers and sporting estates soon proliferated. The clearance of locals was swept under the carpet – a Sunday Mail article in 1937 suggested three quarters of the folk in a typical highland village depended on “the streams of wealth released by rod and gun.” The author contrasted the meagre yield from farming in days gone by with the income now derived from sporting estates;

Today the Highlander has a spotless white walled cottage with four or more rooms, a garden and a good road and the benefit of a daily post and modern transport. How much of all this he owes to the grouse he, more than anyone, realises. It has paved the way to a new prosperity and a happier outlook on life.<sup>265</sup>

Bourdieu’s observations about habitus may be relevant too, as generations excluded from the land may have decided that country life, even in modest huts, is located too deeply within the preferences of an alien and

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<sup>261</sup> E. Simpson, *Going on Holiday*, (Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland, 1998), p.24.

<sup>262</sup> A.V. Seaton, ‘History of Tourism in Scotland’ in R. MacLellan and R. Smith, (eds.), *Tourism in Scotland*, (London: International Thomson, 1998) p.8.

<sup>263</sup> Simpson, *Going on Holiday*, p.26.

<sup>264</sup> Wolfe, *Second Homes; Curse or Blessing*, p.4.

<sup>265</sup> Simpson, *Going on Holiday*, p.30.

opposing class to feel viable - even though that class has skilfully woven its own history and values into national narratives.

The opening of great country houses to the public, mass tourism and the popular addiction to nostalgia have enabled aristocratic families to act as guardians of the nation's heritage and to personify symbols of an enduring link with the glories of Scotland's past.<sup>266</sup>

Thus land, nature, hunting, and even the aesthetics of landscape and the outdoors have vastly different cultural and political meanings to the average citizen in Norway and Scotland.

### **3.7 The history of tourism, sport and leisure**

The history of leisure in Norway is strongly connected to the country's peasant origins and the drive for national autonomy. The century-long fight to defend the Constitution prompted "expressions of national identity" every 17 May to celebrate the publication of the 1814 constitution. Sport was a pivotal part of Constitution Day but organisers encouraged events away from the elitist "British pastime model" of sport towards a more practical, purposeful sense of activity.<sup>267</sup> The *Centralforeningen for Udbredelse af Legemsøvelser og Vaabenbrug* (Central Association for the Spread of Physical Exercise and the Practice of Arms) developed a national ideology explicitly designed "to confront British thinking".<sup>268</sup> The aim was to make sport serve higher purposes than mere socialising or competition for its own sake – purposes like the creation of better soldiers and improved public health (though these were also factors in Britain's "Christian Masculinity"). Above all Norwegian sport was concerned with the concept of *idræt* - activity, not rule-bound games. Norwegian rowing boats (of the type used by Lindøya's first hutting settlers) had a particular

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<sup>266</sup> Devine, *The Scottish Nation* P459

<sup>267</sup> M. Goksøyr, 'Norway's Utilisation of International Sport', in *Tribal Identities*, J.A. Mangan, (ed.), (London: Routledge, 1996)

<sup>268</sup> *ibid*

significance within the nation-building project.<sup>269</sup> (See footnote 30 ; page 144).

According to Constitution Day rowers in Bergen:

The British way of rowing, less rational (and) involving crafts only suited to shallow waters and competition, is doomed ... our fraternities are too much adapted to the people's and nature's practical requirements.<sup>270</sup>

Perhaps the man who most powerfully articulated this connection between activity, national identity and nature was Fridtjof Nansen – scientist, sportsman, explorer and humanist whose book describing his expedition across Greenland on skis in 1889 was published simultaneously in English and German. The impact on public opinion of his triumphant 1896 return from presumed death in the Arctic, is hard to exaggerate.<sup>271</sup> (See footnote 235 ; page 76). Nansen so disliked the British conception of sport that he urged all Norwegians to “practise *idræt* and detest sport and record-breaking.” A contemporary magazine even remarked that sport was “degenerate” *idræt*.<sup>272</sup> Nansen would doubtless have approved of the Oslo workers with small rowing boats moored at the mouth of the Elva River, for the non-sporting and highly practical purpose of taking the family for camping adventures on Lindøya.

Leisure in Norway was also shaped by the presence of many small landowners. Norwegian farms were more like small villages than single-family concerns and a cluster of smaller dwellings usually grew up around the main farmhouse. The *bønde* always owned his land and generally gave or sold land to

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<sup>269</sup> ibid. p.142. “Constitution Day brought sport and nationalism together. An important part of the festivities was sporting contest. Climbing, wrestling, running, gymnastics, and sailing were all ingredients of the celebrations. Rowing – a traditional activity – was the dominant athletic event. Sport was used as a deliberate means to extend the popularity of Constitution Day celebrations. Most of the rowers in the city of Bergen for example, came from the pre-industrial working classes complemented by surrounding rural crofters and fishermen.”

<sup>270</sup> Ibid. p.143

<sup>271</sup> F. Nansen, *The First Crossing of Greenland*, (USA: Interlink, 2003 reprint), p.83; “Skiing is the most national of all Norwegian sports. Nothing teaches the quality of dexterity and resourcefulness, calls for decision and resolution, like skiing. Can there be anything more beautiful and noble than the northern winter landscape when the snow lies foot-deep, like a soft white mantle over wood and hill”? (1891)

<sup>272</sup> *Norsk Skyttertidene* 5/1903

labourers around their houses – this created a network of people able to bequeath land and farmhouses to children and an early experience of freedom on the land for most Norwegians – hunting, fishing, skiing, gathering, building, repairing and working together - which contrasted starkly with feudal Scotland. In Norway, the experience of personal freedom was strongly correlated with access to nature -- indeed the first *hytte* owned by the Norwegian DNT Mountain Cabin Association (formed 1857) was a converted *seter*, while the rest were purpose built. There was also a tradition of the *skyss*, whereby farmers had to provide transport for passing government officials in lieu of tax.<sup>273</sup> When officials appeared at a country inn, the farmer on the duty rota had to appear within a couple of hours and let them drive his horse and cart to the next appointed handover stop. This created an early habit of dependency on farmers for tourism and travel – a habit which naturally expanded into the provision of small-scale tourism in high pastures and leased land for family *hytte*, when guaranteed leisure time was finally won by workers in 1919.

Norway's *åtte timer* (eight hours) working hours legislation remains unique because it legislated for the right to sleep and enjoy leisure as well as creating a maximum of eight hours at work, creating an early idea of leisure time, away from the confines of workplace and home. (see Figure 3.4). Hitherto, time “off” in Norway and elsewhere, rarely meant more than a few unpredictable hours away from work – for men, women and children. Child

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<sup>273</sup> M. Bent, *Coastal Express: The Ferry to the Top of the World* (Virginia: Conway Maritime Press, 1987), p.12.



Figure 3.4 Banner demanding 8 hours, work, sleep and leisure 1920  
Copenhagen Workers Museum

labour in nineteenth century Norway was widespread and children as young as 6 were working in factories. In tobacco and match factories in 1875, half the workers were under the age of 15.<sup>274</sup> In 1892 legislation set an age limit of 12 and restricted working hours for young people under the age of 18 to 10 hours a day.<sup>275</sup> Clearly not all of these hours could be spent working. Formal dining breaks were long enough for workers to go home and return. Small breaks were so frequent that Sundt Brothers in Oslo mounted boards with nails on the walls of their mechanical workshop to stop workers leaning against them while having their coffee. Other companies removed the doors of toilets and made uncomfortable sloping seats, "so people would not find the stay too pleasant."<sup>276</sup> Absenteeism was high and some workers were gone for a quarter of the working day.<sup>277</sup> Holiday agreements were being won by well-organised trade

<sup>274</sup> Libæk and Stenersen, *A History of Norway*, p.82. "This was also true of 10 per cent of the total industrial workforce."

<sup>275</sup> Kjeldstadli, Åtte timer arbeid, pp.76-77; 'Over one-third of shoemakers worked twelve hours, according to the Labour Commission of 1885, while the working day in the mines was less than ten hours. There were also major differences within a trade. While 20 per cent of bookbinders worked ten hours or less, 17 per cent worked twelve hours and more.'

<sup>276</sup> ibid

<sup>277</sup> ibid; At Christiania Spigerverk "apple women" appeared for five to six hours on Tuesdays, which was payday. Then the people were paid, spoke about money, chatted to one another, bought apples

unions from 1919 onwards. That year, for example, Norway became the first country in the world to give every industrial worker 14 days paid holiday by law.<sup>278</sup> But as a worker at Hunsfos paper mills explained when legislation finally enforced the universal eight-hour day in 1919; "It was the end of having to get food taken to the factory where we lived as if we were in a prison camp and not released except to sleep."<sup>279</sup> Eight hours work, eight hours recreation, eight hours rest had been the Labour Movement's slogan since 1889. Its realisation in the 1919 *Åtte Timer* (Eight Hours) legislation meant leisure had become a state-sanctioned activity, perhaps even a statutory obligation, and this had a profound impact on official attitudes towards leisure. If this was the government's first act of compensation towards exhausted workers, it also found favour with many employers who were ready to reduce working hours in exchange for higher productivity.<sup>280</sup> But the sudden arrival of statutory time for rest and sleep prompted concern amongst Norwegian professionals. The journal *Sociale Meddelelser* published an article entitled, 'What are working people going to use their free-time for?' It argued a 10-11 hour working day had been the norm for such a long time that it was impossible for workers to know how to use free-time properly. The journal concluded workers should be taught about leisure and the state started research projects and competitions to find the most constructive ideas.<sup>281</sup> (See footnote 329 ; page 102). A temporary prohibition on most alcohol sales was imposed after a referendum in 1919, so drink was expensive and hard to find. On the other hand, the workers' movement, the fledgling Labour Party and trade unions were upbeat about the consequences of time away from the workplace.

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and waited for the clock to strike 6pm. Around World War 1 market women, monks' carriages, beggars and accordion players all turned up at the workplace on payday.

<sup>278</sup> Libaek and Stenersen, *A History of Norway*, p.100.

<sup>279</sup> Kjeldstadli, *Åtte timer arbeid*, p.78.

<sup>280</sup> ibid p79 "In 1913 the Mechanical Workshops Association, saw the number of full and half days off by workers as a good argument for organised holidays. Max Vogel of the Norwegian Foundry Company in 1914 said "regular holidays are the cheapest and most rational way to keep workers wholesome, capable of work, fresh and exuberant."

<sup>281</sup> Lyngø, *Fritid er sosial sak*, p. 22.

The new free time would give workers... a chance to come into line with the other classes - to access welfare benefits, a universal human community and culture. Leisure was a prerequisite for building autonomy in the individual's life and the class as a whole. Workers organisations had to be created outside the spheres controlled by the bourgeoisie.<sup>282</sup>

Unions provided *hytte* for occasional holidays. In 1922 the Norwegian shoe factory workers' holiday home, was built and workers donated the money for the red flag and flagpole outside it. 130 such union or workplace holiday *hytte* were built around the country from 1907-1937, many near Oslo and most in beautifully situated farm properties in forests or at the shore.<sup>283</sup> Each part of the Labour movement had its own holiday colony of huts, indeed Utøya (where Anders Breivik killed 69 people in 2011) is a holiday island that has been owned by the AUF or Labour Youth Organisation since 1933. (Figure 3.5)



**Figure 3.5 Utøya in 1938 – six weeks holiday for children of the unemployed**

Oslo's Labour-led *kommune* (council) was also intent on producing its own ambitious leisure and public health programme. In 1912, 1,414 children were given five-week holidays in 26 holiday *hytte* run by the charitable *Kristiania Arbeidersamfung* (Oslo Workers Society) near Tønsberg.<sup>284</sup> When recession

<sup>282</sup> Kjeldstadli, Åtte timer arbeid, pp.79-80.

<sup>283</sup> ibid "The Tailors union bought the farm "Bjørgan" on Nesodden in 1920, The Oslo Waiters Association bought Upper Bleker Asker in 1927 and the Electrical Fitters built a holiday home called Fuglesang in 1929 on Bjork Island in Langen, Enebakk."

<sup>284</sup> T. Somdal-Åmodt, *På vei til sommer'n's feriekoloni*, Tobias 2 (1999), pp. 16-18.

threatened to close the holiday operation, ownership was transferred to the council, which bought extra land at Slagen, Hudøy, Råde and Modum for more holiday homes.<sup>285</sup> In 1919 the council also took over properties from the *Feriekolonier* (Holiday homes) movement. "Social criteria" were used to decide which children would benefit most from 8-12 weeks in the country.<sup>286</sup> (See footnote 409 ; page 122) In 1917, Oslo council built modern public baths, seawater pools, parks, allotments and sports fields and spent 8.5 million kroner buying areas for recreation and new house building in working class parts of Oslo. The socialist-run council was openly critical of previous administrations which hesitated to buy beach areas for the city's population at Huk and Ulvøya, and missed a deadline to buy the huge forest area of the *Nordmarka* behind Oslo in the late nineteenth century.<sup>287</sup> All these leisure developments by workers organisations and Labour-led Oslo council left the State looking increasingly flat-footed – perhaps framing the decision that lay ahead over Lindøya. But Norway's politicians did move ahead with the commitment to provide work, rest and leisure time in 1919, and in 1936 instituted perhaps the first paid, statutory holidays in the world.<sup>288</sup> Statutory paid leave was extended to 18 working days in 1947 and four weeks in 1964. British workers had just two weeks of statutory paid holidays in the 1970s as workers in Norway and the rest of northern Europe moved to 4-5 weeks. The Norwegian working week was cut to 45 hours in 1959 and 42.5 in 1968 – and together with higher levels of pay and disposable income the new freedom saw consumption of private transport, leisure gear, restaurant visits, hotel stays and package holidays increase dramatically. In the 1940s the average household used three quarters

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<sup>285</sup> O. Hodne, *Folk og Fritid*, (Oslo: Novus,1994), pp 18-19; "If there is one thing that warms the heart of Oslo inhabitants it is this, that there really has been action to remove everything that inhibits access to the outdoor life. The forests and fields, islands and beaches that the municipality acquired are freed automatically from unsightly posters banning access, and offer instead to thousands and thousands of people, a welcome to outdoor pleasures."

<sup>286</sup> ibid. pp. 20-21; "The children were frequently weighed and elaborate records produced. In 1953, 274 of the 2,060 children in the municipal holiday colonies were eight-year-olds and most increased their weight by 0.75 kg. Probably a good result, when the average annual weight gain for 8-year-olds was 3.2 kg."

<sup>287</sup> ibid. p.18.

<sup>288</sup> W. Warbey, *Modern Norway: a study in social democracy* (Oslo: Fabian, 1950), p. 68.

of its income on basic necessities – accommodation, food and clothing. By 1970 it was less than a half and Norwegians were spending as much on leisure as on food.<sup>289</sup> The number of cars increased twelve-fold between 1949 and 1974.<sup>290</sup> Infrastructure also improved with the construction of more “milk roads” to high pastures.<sup>291</sup> Once car rationing ended, leisure time increased, and post war incomes rose, Oslo families were able to travel further afield and build huts on family-owned land or plots bought from private farmer/foresters.

The first railway line in Norway was opened in 1854 and from the late 1850s steamer lines were established.<sup>292</sup> The first tram built in Oslo connected the city centre with the high moorland of the Marka behind Oslo so that workers could access the outdoors for skiing and walking. By contrast, the railway line connecting Glasgow to Milngavie (now the start of the West Highland Way) operated with a Sunday ban for many years, apparently deterring city workers from disturbing folk in the leafy suburbs. So, in 1920s Norway, the early introduction of guaranteed, paid leisure time, municipal sports facilities, the presence of a secure family home in the fjords and relatively easy access to affordable land all meant the country was set for a massive increase in demand for huts.

## Scotland

Scotland was central to the development of tourism as a cultural activity in the western world, becoming one of the most important new European destinations in the early nineteenth century. But it was not principally a holiday destination for Scots. MacLellan and Smith's comprehensive survey tracks the transformation of Scotland from a place with nothing to see before 1760 into the most fashionable holiday location for wealthy Europeans half a century later.<sup>293</sup> James Boswell reported that Voltaire looked amazed when he announced an intention to visit the Scottish Highlands; “he looked at me as if I

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<sup>289</sup> T. Grønlie in Danielsen et al, *From the Vikings to Our Own Times*, p.367.

<sup>290</sup> *ibid*

<sup>291</sup> Gjerdåker in Almås, Norwegian Agricultural history, pp. 234-93.

<sup>292</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 234-93.

<sup>293</sup> MacLellan and Smith, *Tourism in Scotland*, *passim*

had talked of going to the North Pole.”<sup>294</sup> But as A. V Seaton observed, that soon changed;

In the eighteenth century, a forbidding wilderness was turned into a genteel pleasure ground, an alien and hostile race of people became an object of sentimental myth, and a climate regarded as brutish was transformed into an environment of grandeur -- proof that tourism is about ideas and ideologies as much as amenity.<sup>295</sup>

From the start, the visitor to Scotland was typically a member of the literate middle or upper classes, and was English, German or French, not Scottish. The domestic market only developed in the second half of the nineteenth century with the growth of cheap rail and steamer excursions which brought west coast seaside resorts within reach of Glaswegians for day trips and later, after the Holidays with Pay Act of 1938, for longer stays in rented accommodation. This resulted in a degree of holiday apartheid as different parts of Scotland catered for different classes of tourist. Seaton observes that “incomer tourism” revealed an east-coast bias as people travelled north via the more direct rail and road routes, visiting attractions like York and Abbotsford en route (and therefore bypassing Dumfries, Galloway and Ayrshire).<sup>296</sup> Incomer tourism also created a demand for picturesque landscape which; “favoured roughness against smoothness, the ancient against the modern, the unimproved against the improved and the empty and desolate against the populated and the everyday.”<sup>297</sup> The “picturesque” largely excluded people (quite literally as landowners cleared labourers cottages and sometimes whole communities to improve the view) or made them moveable extras in a landscape shaped as a spectator experience. William Cobbett, on a tour of Scotland, was outraged that Edinburgh – which he regarded as the finest city in the world – was not surrounded by thriving agricultural villages because aristocrats owned the estates and kept them empty, rural and “unspoiled”.<sup>298</sup>

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<sup>294</sup> J. Boswell, *Tour to the Hebrides* (Amazon Media), p.2

<sup>295</sup> Seaton, *History of Tourism*, p.1.

<sup>296</sup> Ibid. p.30

<sup>297</sup> Ibid. pp.9-10

<sup>298</sup> D. Green, (ed.), *Cobbett’s Tour in Scotland*, (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1984). Cobbett also raged against the Clearances, arguing: “It may be quite proper to inquire into the means that

Field sports were popular with the English aristocracy in the first part of the nineteenth century, influenced by the example set by Prince Albert at Balmoral and guides like the best-selling “Art of Deer Stalking”.<sup>299</sup> (See footnote 261 ; page 84). In the 1860s one commentator characterised the typical field sports enthusiast as an English self-made businessman or a solicitor graduate educated at Harrow.<sup>300</sup> Their transformation into an authentic Highland huntsman generally required the construction of a grand Highland Shooting Lodge; “The schlossy sporting lodges were little more than the self-indulgent holiday homes of those who had made a fortune in the new industries of Victorian Britain.”<sup>301</sup>

Hunting in Scotland was (and still is) controlled by large sporting estates. Deer, pheasant and grouse shooting were reserved for landowners and guests and the only involvement by local Scots tended to be late-night poaching, as described in novels like Neil Gunn’s *Highland River*, and the hard work of stalking, gralloching deer, “beating” grouse, providing refreshment, retrieving catches and generally guiding and supporting paying guests.<sup>302</sup> The near-total exclusion of locals caused great resentment and upper class hunting behaviour was parodied in plays like John McGrath’s *The Cheviot, the Stag and Black, Black Oil*.<sup>303</sup>

The exclusive nature of hunting and fishing in Scotland also impacted on hatters. It restricted their freedom to roam, the small adventures they might have with family members and the skills they should have developed during a lifetime’s access to the land. All of this contributed to a perception of the countryside and its natural bounty as “off limits” for Scots - an alien habitus for all but the elite landowning class.

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were used to effect the clearing, for all that we have been told about [Scotland’s] sterility has been either sheer falsehood or monstrous exaggeration.”

<sup>299</sup> W. Scrope, *The art of deer-stalking*, (Edinburgh: Murray, 1838), p.43.

<sup>300</sup> Seaton, *History of Tourism*. p. 32.

<sup>301</sup> B. Slee, ‘Tourism and rural development in Scotland’ in MacLellan and Smith, *Tourism in Scotland*, pp. 93-112.

<sup>302</sup> N. Gunn, *Highland River*, (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1937)

<sup>303</sup> John McGrath’s *Cheviot, the Stag and Black, Black Oil* was first performed in Aberdeen 1973.

This contrasted dramatically with Norway, where hunting has traditionally been accessible to all. Indeed, the hutting community of Skaidi was located on the banks of the Repparfjordselva in 1937, specifically to give hatters access to Finnmark's best salmon-fishing river. (see footnote 47; page 187)

The transformation of Highland Scotland into sporting estates created a dependence on external wealth, a “prosperity of sorts” for some locals, clearance for others and the development of field sports not mass tourism.<sup>304</sup> Throughout the nineteenth and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the level of farm and estate tourism in Scotland remained low compared to England and Wales.<sup>305</sup>

The aversion towards tourism by feudal sporting estate owners was reflected by others who viewed land primarily as a resource for making a living - farming, forestry and fishing interests and heavy industry like pulp mills, hydro power and (later) blanket forestry.<sup>306</sup>

Sea voyages, spas and coastal resorts were also exclusive destinations, until the advent of going “doon the watter.” Steamers opened up the West Highlands and islands with fortnightly summer trips from Glasgow to Fingal’s cave on Staffa. One carried Felix Mendelssohn who visited the cave in 1829 as part of a Scottish tour – his Hebrides Overture (completed the following year) prompted even more wealthy travellers to visit. Oban, nicknamed “the Charing Cross of the Highlands”, became an important western resort and a succession of steamers from Glasgow opened up a new route via the Clyde and the Crinan Canal (opened in 1801) to Fort William and then via the Caledonian Canal (opened in 1822) to Inverness.<sup>307</sup> When railways arrived, seaside fever spread. Perth and Inverness were connected to the railway network in 1863 and became especially busy in early August as the rich and famous arrived, along with their servants, for the grouse-shooting season. So many visitors came from England that Episcopalian church services were held during the summer

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<sup>304</sup> F. Fraser Darling and J. Morton Boyd, *The Highlands and Islands*, (London: Collins, 1977), p.23.

<sup>305</sup> Sree, Tourism and rural development, p. 94.

<sup>306</sup> T.C. Smout. *Scotland since prehistory: natural change and human impact*, (Aberdeen: Scottish Cultural Press, 1993), p.116.

<sup>307</sup> Simpson, *Going on Holiday*, p.27.

months to cater for them. Highland Games were revived or created for their spectator appeal – Birnam and Ballater (1864), Aboyne (1867) Crieff (1870) Oban (1873). But little of this was within the grasp of the average Scot.

Railway lines were built to Greenock (1841) and Helensburgh (1858), and soon became the main ports of departure for the working classes en route to Dunoon and Rothesay for day trips or short summer holidays. But even these opportunities for brief escapes were soon under pressure as problems of overcrowding and potential immorality were raised. A feature in the Scottish Temperance Review 1850 observed;

Hundreds of men and women lay in the woods and fields about Rothesay on the nights of Saturday and Sunday of the fair week. Lodgings were not to be had at any price. In one attic fifteen male and female were accommodated.<sup>308</sup>

Parliament passed the Forbes-Mackenzie act in 1853, prohibiting the sale of alcohol on Sundays except to “bona fide travellers.” But the law did not apply to steamers. Thus, was born the working-class Scottish tradition of going “doon the watter” for holidays whilst wealthier foreigners went “up the glen.” Rothesay’s Esplanade was built in 1872, Portobello’s promenade and pier were built in 1871 - in July that year 600 visitors arrived by special train from Larkhall, 700 from Newmain and Wishaw and 200 from Galashiels. In 1882 parliament made the sale of alcohol on Sunday steamers illegal but that did not stop the practice. The Galloway Steam Packet Company successfully challenged Kirkcaldy Harbour Commissioners in court for blocking access.<sup>309</sup> The court ruled that, “the harbour commissioners were not entrusted in any way with superintendence over the spiritual condition of the town.” This ruling was regarded as a test case and prompted a big expansion of steamer excursions. On Fair Saturday 1895, for example, 17 packed steamers carried thousands of Glaswegians down the Clyde – and the connection between seaborne excursions and drink, prompted “steaming” to enter Scotland’s everyday vocabulary.

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<sup>308</sup> Ibid p43

<sup>309</sup> Ibid p46

Initially, the state's strategy was to proscribe or try to license undesirable activities -- the Temperance (Scotland) Act 1913 also gave communities the right to "go dry" but prompted only a small number of local plebiscites in 1920. (See footnote 56 ; page 152). But by 1934, the sheer volume of "rough" activity, the pressure on police and court time and the participation of the middle classes in gambling, cinema-going and drinking alcohol all combined to force a change of policy in the form of the Betting and Lotteries Act, which legalised the tote on licensed racecourse and greyhound tracks:

With this surrender the strategy changed. When ice cream shops first appeared in the 1900s, the state's instinct was to suppress and control. But they became tolerable compared to billiard halls, and both were preferable to worse forms of youth culture, leading to state support of billiards in youth clubs. Voluntary was better than commercial, but commercial was better than illegal and rough.<sup>310</sup>

Perhaps this change in official attitudes explains the "tolerance" shown by some local councils towards the commercial hutting communities springing up around Scotland in the interwar period – especially Bruce's Camps at Seton Sands.

In Norway and Sweden, churches, trade unions and governments contributed to the construction of self-built family huts as ideal antidotes to the siren attractions of "the street."<sup>311</sup> But Scottish officialdom did not encourage workers to escape "rough culture" by putting their energies into hutting. The scarcity, high cost and inaccessibility of land appears to have stopped individual family huts from even being considered as suitable or viable forms of "rational recreation." The dominance of landowners, the survival of feudal land tenure

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<sup>310</sup> C.G. Brown, 'Popular Culture and the continuing struggle for rational recreation', in Devine and Finlay *Scotland in the 20<sup>th</sup> century*, p.226.

<sup>311</sup> Hall C. M, Müller D.K, Saarinen J. *Nordic Tourism: Issues and Cases* (2008), p.175; "In Sweden the cabin-movement (Sportstugorörelsen) caused the construction of many simple cabins on the outskirts of rapidly growing urban areas. The most significant expansion occurred after the World Wars and was mainly facilitated by increasing car ownership and governmental social tourism programs aiming at offering domestic countryside recreation to large parts of the population. Hence, during the 1960s, 1970s and the early 1980s second home construction boomed and added cottages to locations on the urban outskirts and amenity-rich areas all over the Nordic countries."

and the enduring allure of sporting estates made such an alternative use of rural land quite inconceivable.

Perhaps as a consequence, leisure in Scotland focused instead on activities organised by religious, charitable and voluntary groups. Young people with a desire for outdoor activity, hill-walking, a night under canvas or just a few hours out of the city were steered away from self-help solutions and towards formal, voluntary groups organised with military methods, religious overtones and sporting outlets for restless energies;

In Victorian and Edwardian Scotland, public culture was an object for struggle, often class struggle, in which the elites engaged to convert the plebeians from the pernicious hedonism of drink and urban 'low life' and create new loyalties - to God, employer, municipality and nation.<sup>312</sup>

There was deep, official unease about the prospect of workers organising their own newly-acquired leisure time. Perhaps as a consequence of this, more world-famous, voluntary leisure institutions began life in turn of the century Scotland than perhaps anywhere else in Europe. Most were set up to instil discipline and encourage religious observance, but the addition of sport and outdoor access was generally added to guarantee success. Callum G Brown notes that the Boys' Brigade only "exploded in popularity," when it introduced a Saturday football league ten years after its foundation.

The choice for rational and religious recreation after 1900 was stark - stick to providing devotional and 'elevating' functions only and risk decline, or provide more exciting entertainment to stay in the rapidly evolving [leisure] marketplace.<sup>313</sup>

Organised sport and access to the outdoors underpinned many of the leisure activities devised to occupy the time of young working-class Scots. Indeed, during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Scotland was no less outdoors-oriented than Norway even if outdoor access here was more formally organised. The Boys'

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<sup>312</sup> Brown in Devine and Finlay, *Scotland in the 20<sup>th</sup> century*, pp. 224-6.

<sup>313</sup> C.G Brown, *The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1733*, (London: 1987), pp.169-208.

Brigade -- the first voluntary uniformed organisation for boys -- was founded in Glasgow by Sir William Alexander Smith in 1883 to develop "Christian manliness" through gymnastics, summer camps and religious services. Smith had set up a branch of the YMCA (established in England in 1844) within his own church, but observed that the 'discipline and esprit de corps' of the YMCA was sorely lacking at Sunday School and so put the two together as the Boys Brigade.<sup>314</sup> As a former Colonel in the 1st Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteers; "it seemed natural that the only good drill was one that included the precise thud and slap and smart control of rifles exercised in precision," especially since there was widespread anxiety about the fitness of recruits for the Boer War.<sup>315</sup> Smith introduced the concept of camping to allow boys and "officers" to remain in contact over the summer break and his 1st Glasgow Company held its inaugural one-week camp at a hall in Tighnabruaich in 1886, before moving to camp in tents near Portavadie in the Kyles of Bute, a location that remained in use until 1974.<sup>316</sup> By 1910, there were about 2200 Boys Brigade companies connected with various churches throughout the British Empire and United States, involving 10,000 officers and 100,000 boys.

In 1903, Robert Stephenson Smyth Baden Powell had returned from the Boer War, and Smith encouraged him to develop citizenship training for boys based on his handbook for soldiers, "Aids to Scouting." This was immediately so popular (even published in Russia on the order of Tsar Nicolas) that in 1910, Baden Powell retired from the army to devote his life to the international Scout Movement, which, unlike the devout Boys Brigade, was a non-Christian organisation. Many commentators believe that the paramilitary origins of the Boy Scout movement, allowed militarists and the National Service League (NSL)

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<sup>314</sup> F. P. Gibbon, *William A Smith of the Boys' Brigade*, (Glasgow: Collins, 1934).

<sup>315</sup> D. M. McFarlan, *First for Boys: the story of the Boys Brigade 1883-1983*, (Glasgow: Collins, 1982); The poor physical condition of Boer War volunteers prompted the Scottish Education Department Circular 279 in 1900, which recommended physical training programmes for school children. This was followed by a Royal Commission on Physical Training in 1903, Committee on Physical Deterioration in 1904, Syllabus of Physical Exercises in Public Elementary Schools in 1905 and compulsory medical supervision of schoolchildren in the Education Act of 1908.

<sup>316</sup> W. Mc G. Eager, *Making men: the history of Boys Clubs and related movements in Great Britain*. (London: University of London, 1953)

to manipulate it and other youth movements during the First World War.<sup>317</sup> However, Baden Powell was actually opposed to conscription and supported the idea of voluntary training in the Territorial Army (itself devised by Edinburgh-born Richard Haldane), putting Baden Powell at odds with Kitchener and others in Army Command.<sup>318</sup> Baden-Powell's Boy Scouts were in fact the only large uniformed youth organisation that refused to join the War Office's Cadets scheme.<sup>319</sup>

These organisations built on the "games" revolution devised by the Glasgow-born Hely Hutchinson Almond, headmaster of Loretto School in Musselburgh from 1862-1903. Almond was heavily influenced by John Ruskin and Herbert Spencer and blended their ideas into "Lorettonianism" – a programme of health education with very specific ideas about healthy food, clothing, PE, sleep, fresh air and cold baths.<sup>320</sup> Another Scot provided Almond with a set of physical exercises for his school. Archibald MacLaren wrote *A Military System of Gymnastic Exercises for the Use of Instructors*.<sup>321</sup> Almond measured his pupils regularly and credited MacLaren for this practice.<sup>322</sup> He introduced walking tours for the whole school in the Borders countryside in spring and autumn, a 'break' during the summer term and stays at his Highland cottage for boys of "weak constitution."<sup>323</sup> Private Scottish boarding schools like Glenalmond, Merchiston and Fettes followed Almond's lead either through direct contact or by employing ex-Lorettonians.

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<sup>317</sup> J. O. Springhall, 'The Boy Scouts, Class and Militarism in Relation to British Youth Movements 1908-1930', *International Review of Social History*, 16/2 (1971), pp. 156-7.

<sup>318</sup> W. Hillcourt, *Baden-Powell: Two Lives of a Hero* (London: Heinemann, 1964); Although Kitchener was President of the North London Boy Scouts Association, 'as Secretary of State for War . . . Kitchener had nothing but disdain for Haldane's Territorial Army and for all those who had worked to establish it. He regarded the Territorials as amateurs with a play-boy spirit.'

<sup>319</sup> M. Dedman, 'Baden-Powell, Militarism, and the Invisible Contributors' to the Boy Scout Scheme, 1904-1920', *Twentieth Century British History*, Vol. 4, No. 3, (Oxford: OUP, 1993), pp. 201-23.

<sup>320</sup> P.F. McDevitt, *May the Best Man Win*, (New York: Palgrave, 2004)

<sup>321</sup> *A Military System of Gymnastic Exercises for the Use of Instructors* (1862), *Training in Theory and Practice* (1866), *A System of Physical Education Theoretical and Practical* (1869)

<sup>322</sup> H.B. Tristram, *Loretto School: Past and Present*, (New York: Princeton, 1911) p.66.

<sup>323</sup> D. Turner, *The Old Boys: The Decline and Rise of the Public School* (Newhaven: Yale University Press, 2015), p.105.

The term Muscular Christianity was applied to Almond's outlook but was first applied to academic, social reformer, historian and novelist Charles Kingsley in 1857.

His ideal is a man who fears God, and can walk a thousand miles in a thousand hours – who ... breathes God's free air on God's rich earth and at the same time can hit a woodcock, doctor a horse and twist a poker around his fingers.<sup>324</sup>

This ideal of a god-fearing yet practical man forged in the public schools of Scotland, quickly became a template for voluntary organisations intent on reshaping working class behaviour and for teachers in state schools.

Edinburgh Academy rector Robert Jameson Mackenzie, (later Almond's biographer) helped spread Almond's ideas to the state sector.<sup>325</sup> Mackenzie (headmaster from 1889 to 1902) introduced a system of physical education, which was "no more than the application of Almond's ideas to the problems of day-school life."<sup>326</sup> This was formalised by commissioners reporting on the state of physical training in Scotland during 1903, who were so impressed by Loretto that they urged state day schools to adopt the boarding schools' programme of gymnastics and games.<sup>327</sup> Glasgow Council's education department ran summer holidays for 6 thousand "necessitous children" in 1928. The Scottish Office agreed the Scottish hills should be open for people to walk and climb, but proposals to include Scotland in the Access to Mountains Act 1939 failed because enthusiasts felt it would actually limit Scots' traditional right to roam.<sup>328</sup> But government officials still believed workers needed structure and guidance to use leisure time well. In 1944, a Ministry of Education circular

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<sup>324</sup> N.F. Anderson, '*The Sporting Life: Victorian Sports and Games*', (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2010), p.80.

<sup>325</sup> ibid

<sup>326</sup> I. Thomson, 'Almond of Loretto' in *The Place of Physical Education in Concerns about Health, 1850-1914*', (Proceedings of a one-day conference, Chester Sept. 1977), pp. 40-45.

<sup>327</sup> J.A. Mangan, 'Almond of Loretto: Scottish Educational Visionary and Reformer', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 27 (2010), pp. 1-2.

<sup>328</sup> C.G. Brown, in Devine and Finlay, Scotland in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, p.224.

summed up the state's presumption that workers would make bad choices, if left to their own devices or the vagaries of the market-place.

Men and women do not as a rule make the best use of their leisure if the only facilities are those provided by commercial enterprise. The provision of communal facilities for the rational and enjoyable use of leisure is ... a necessary part of the country's educational system.<sup>329</sup> (See footnote 281 ; page 90)

So, the Education Scotland Act of 1945 established plans for state-run "camps, holiday classes, playing fields, play centres, gyms, swimming baths and other establishments .... for recreation."<sup>330</sup> But most of the promised facilities failed to materialise. The Boy Scouts and Boys Brigade, on the other hand, organised such popular holidays in tents that more than a million children had some experience of camping by the 1930s.<sup>331</sup> Some young Scots, like the father of author Eric Simpson, joined the pre-1914 Territorial Army to have camping holidays. Of course, many part-time soldiers soon found themselves embroiled in the early battles of the First World War instead. Camping was cheaper than the more conventional forms of accommodation, and holiday camps soon developed. Rothesay housed the first cooperative holiday camp founded in 1911 by the United Cooperative Baking Society.<sup>332</sup> The "plotlanders" expansion of huts around London attracted attention in Scotland and earned praise for letting the hard-pressed working classes avoid the commercialism of other holiday options;

The lessee of a hut has no use for bathing machines, is a tepid supporter of the band and the Pierrots, and contributes little to other forms of seaside brigandage. Loafing ... is what all sensible doctors prescribe for a man who is taking a holiday from hard and sedentary work, and there is no better excuse than the possession of a hut.<sup>333</sup> (See footnote 1 ; page 219)

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<sup>329</sup> Ministry of Education, *Community Centres* (1944), 16, pp.3-4.

<sup>330</sup> SRO ED14/460 Education Scotland Bill.

<sup>331</sup> C. Hardy and D. Ward, *Goodnight Campers! The History of the British Holiday Camp*, (Marcham: Five Leaves, 1986)

<sup>332</sup> Tents became chalets during the interwar years and the camp expanded to hold 400 people, surviving until 1974.

<sup>333</sup> Dundee Courier - Wednesday 27 August 1913

Ironically, huts came into their own during the First World War – used for sleeping, stores, bathing, latrines and for relaxation and convalescence. Local YMCA branches raised funds across Britain to set up special huts behind front lines to provide respite for the troops. In 1917, readers of the Dundee Journal collected over £3000 to build huts behind the Somme front.<sup>334</sup> The huts offered food and drink, care for the walking wounded and space for relatives of the dangerously wounded who were allowed to stay for up to 10 days without charge.<sup>335</sup>

The [YMCA huts] are like kitchen firesides set down at the Front at which our lads can rest and refresh themselves with a cup of tea or cocoa, a smoke and a sing-song. These Huts of ours must be kept going, briskly and brightly. There must be no “out” fires. We must keep the kettles singing and the loaf on the table.”

By 1918, two thousand YMCA huts existed in every part of the combat zone staffed by two hundred Scottish Ministers. Free and Church of Scotland churches were encouraged to pair so that one Minister could travel abroad.<sup>336</sup> The fundraising effort was considerable and constant. By March 1918 huts and equipment worth £150,000 had been destroyed, but still, huts were being replaced and fund-raising for “civilian” huts continued after the Armistice.<sup>337</sup> After the war, local newspaper ads suggest many of these surplus huts were put up for sale.<sup>338</sup> (Figure 3.6)

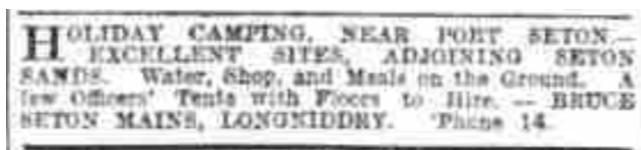


Figure 3.6 tents with wooden floors at Seton Sands

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<sup>334</sup> *Dundee People's Journal* - Saturday 17 March 1917

<sup>335</sup> *Dundee Courier* - Thursday 22 August 1918

<sup>336</sup> *ibid*

<sup>337</sup> *Hawick News and Border Chronicle* - Friday 15 November 1918

<sup>338</sup> *Dundee Courier* March 1920

<sup>339</sup> *Edinburgh Evening News* - Wednesday 16 July 1924 “Officers’ tents with floors to hire” suggests a half-hut, half-tent construction like the *lemmehytter* of Lindøya. (See footnote 52 ; page 151).

Another advert by the Ministry of Munitions announced 49 huts and buildings were for sale at Annsmuir Camp, Ladybank, including huts for cooking, hospital, baths, sleeping, stores, pharmacy and officers. Old army huts were also advertised in a quarterly magazine *Surplus*.<sup>340</sup> Local councils, struggling to accommodate returning soldiers, were amongst the buyers. In 1919 emergency huts bought by Dundee Council had a sizeable waiting list and the rents charged for tenants living in ex-servicemen's huts attracted criticism.<sup>341</sup> Still, widespread, war-time experience of huts clearly normalised their use for leisure-related purposes thereafter.

In parallel to all this was the fight for statutory holiday rights. In 1817 Robert Owen coined the slogan that would become a formal reality in Norway (but not Britain) a century later; "Eight hours labour, Eight hours recreation, Eight hours rest." Despite the support of the TUC, paid holidays did not gain general acceptance before WWI. Employers rejected the idea they would improve productivity and unions focused on the fight for basic social, political and industrial rights, dismissing the idea of paid leisure time as 'somewhat utopian'.<sup>342</sup> That changed as manual workers became more organised and demanded the same paid holidays that had been enjoyed by salaried workers for almost a century. After the 1929 General Election, the new Labour government gave one week's paid holiday to nearly 100,000 workers in state-owned industries (ten years after the same rights had been won in Norway).<sup>343</sup> Unions and newspapers pressed for more. The Daily Express ran a campaign in 1938 listing twenty-four nations already providing annual paid holidays for all workers, including France, Finland, the USSR and Norway.<sup>344</sup> Finally, the 1938 Holidays With Pay Act recommended, but did not compel, employers to give a week's annual paid vacation to all full-time workers in addition to bank holidays. It also recommended the immediate construction of large-scale

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<sup>340</sup> Ibid. "Available at bookstalls and by subscription for 3d"

<sup>341</sup> *Dundee Courier* 07 February 1921.

<sup>342</sup> J.A.R. Pimlott, *The Englishman's Holiday, a social history* (Michigan: Harvester Press, 1976), p.214.

<sup>343</sup> Libaek and Stenersen, *A History of Norway*. p.100.

<sup>344</sup> *Daily Express*, 13 April 1938.

holiday camps to accommodate workers and their families.<sup>345</sup> Councils responded by cutting local tax rates for commercial holiday camps and even considered building and running their own.<sup>346</sup> (See footnote 135 ; page 250). But few imagined workers might want to arrange leisure breaks in their own family-owned and built wooden huts.

Those concerned with the public spaces of the nation, including beaches, parks and resorts, saw the 'appropriate conduct and aesthetic ability' of citizens as crucial elements in the determination of who should be allowed access to those spaces. Those who claimed cultural custodianship of the landscape in the interwar years constantly questioned the kind of public to be permitted and cultivated.<sup>347</sup>

The potential increase in working class holiday-makers looked certain to expanded the potential for "vulgar behaviour and anti-citizenship"<sup>348</sup> This prompted debate about overcrowding, 'cultural trespass', and rights of access to national space.<sup>349</sup> A week after the publication of the Committee on Holidays With Pay report, entrepreneur Billy Butlin solved the problem by opening a second luxury holiday camp at Clacton-on-Sea with accommodation for two thousand people a week and extending his original Skegness camp to cater for 4,500 guests a week. Guests slept in individual 'chalets,' ate three daily hot meals, used childcare services and enjoyed a packed schedule of outdoor and indoor activities for an all-inclusive pre-paid price. It was; "an inexpensive holiday in which a wife can enjoy rest and recuperation and freedom from arduous household duties."<sup>350</sup>

By 1938 there were approximately two hundred holiday camps in Britain organised by commercial enterprises, unions and political groups. Each

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<sup>345</sup> Report of the Committee on Holidays with Pay, Part V, 96, April 1938.

<sup>346</sup> 'Low Rating of Holiday Camps.' *The Caterer and Hotel Keeper*, 7 July 1939

<sup>347</sup> S. Dawson, 'Working-Class Consumers and the Campaign for Holidays with Pay' in *Twentieth Century British History*, Vol 18, Issue 3, (2007), pp. 277-305.

<sup>348</sup> D. Matless, *Landscape and Englishness* (London, Reaktion, 1998)

<sup>349</sup> B. Beaven, *Leisure, Citizenship & Working-Class Men in Britain, 1850–1945*, (Manchester: Manchester University, 2005), pp. 59-60.

<sup>350</sup> P. Thane, *Divided Kingdom: A History of Britain, 1900 to the Present*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018)

camp varied in luxury and size. Some were tents in a field, whilst others included permanent buildings and barrack-style sleeping accommodation.<sup>351</sup> Holiday camps operated by Billy Butlin and Harry Warner catered for 140,000 working class campers, diverting them away from existing middle-class resorts and the hard to access countryside.

The holiday camp expansion was driven partly by middle-class anxiety that droves of vacationing workers and their families would overwhelm the already congested seaside resorts along Britain's coast – the middle classes hoped holiday camps would provide contained and inexpensive pleasure for those unwelcome workers and their families.<sup>352</sup> (See footnote 45 ; page 149)

The outbreak of war interrupted full implementation of the 1938 legislation, and the cost of holidays still lay beyond most workers until labour shortages pushed up wages after World War Two. Butlin had initially developed his Ayr camp as a naval camp for wartime use. After the war he purchased the premises and opened in 1947 as a holiday camp.<sup>353</sup>

Butlin was not the first holiday operator, but he transformed the way holidays were produced. He created the “all inclusive” - holidaying en masse, paying a weekly fee and getting everything provided.<sup>354</sup>

Of course, many urban Scots refused to be “organised” and “provided for” and simply walked or cycled out of the city and into the hills. The first climbing clubs were middle class and exclusive. The Scottish Mountaineering Club was formed in 1889 and the Ladies Scottish Climbing Club in 1906. Hiking and cycling clubs for working people were quite separate;

Some Glasgow shop workers toiling of necessity till late on Saturdays could count themselves fortunate if they caught the last train or bus out of the city. Many lived rough, finding primitive forms of shelter such as caves or overhanging boulders. Rough

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<sup>351</sup> Ward and Hardy, *Goodnight Campers*, p.57.

<sup>352</sup> Dawson, *Working-Class Consumers*, p.283.

<sup>353</sup> *ibid*

<sup>354</sup> Ward and Hardy, *Goodnight Campers*, p.57.

and ready howffs were made using old tarpaulin for roofing material. For these proletarian pioneers the campfire was at one and the same time a comradely expression of freedom and a practical necessity. “We carried no tents, said Jock Nimlin, one of the working-class trailblazers, “and some of us carried no blankets or sleeping bags. It hardly seemed worthwhile as we had so little time for sleep.<sup>355</sup>

Nimlin and his fellow “Mountain Men” were hardy in the extreme. They caught the last bus or walked from Glasgow to Balloch, rowed up Loch Lomond to Tarbert, slept in a cave, rose the next day to climb the Arrochar Alps, did the same on Sunday, rowed back down the loch and walked into Glasgow having generally missed the last bus.<sup>356</sup> This herculean physical effort was then repeated the next weekend. Nimlin and other working-class men used caves, bothies, self-built rooms beneath road bridges and even hollowed out trees for overnight shelter and were reportedly contemptuous of those using youth hostels or indoor accommodation.<sup>357</sup> They may have been making a virtue of necessity or might have assumed that asking for permission would only result in humiliating rejection. Perhaps the terrible living conditions in Glasgow bred a self-reliance, which depended on never asking for help – especially from perceived “class enemies.” Either way, this comfort-averse outlook made venturing into the Scottish hills a physically demanding, hardy and generally male endeavour. By contrast, Norway’s early emphasis on huts as a place to stay in nature, encouraged whole families to experience the Great Outdoors together.

Hardy ‘Men of the Mountains’ like Jock Nimlin, Tom Weir and Hamish MacInnes walked miles, rowed even further and slept in caves, bothies and under bridges in the rain – anything to distinguish themselves from the soft, feather-bedded, deer-shooting elite whose louche enjoyment of the land had to look completely different in character. For tens of thousands of working-class Scots who weren’t as hardy as Jock Nimlin, it

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<sup>355</sup> E. Simpson, *The Cairngorm Mountaineering Club*, (Edinburgh: 1997)

<sup>356</sup> I. Maclean, *Mountain Men; the discovery of the hills by Glasgow workers during the Depression* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1996), pp.79-87.

<sup>357</sup> I.D.S. Thomson, *May the fire always be lit – a biography of Jock Nimlin* (UK: Ernest Press, 1995)

became simpler to regard the land and countryside as ‘out of bounds.’<sup>358</sup>

The die was cast. Scottish holidays would not be in DIY wooden huts, handed down over generations as individually owned second homes, but in Butlin’s style, weekly-rented chalets, caravans and boarding houses for the majority, with just a hardy minority venturing out to camp in the hills. This established a pattern of “packaged” holidays using Butlins’ as a template.<sup>359</sup>

By 1945, 80% of British workers had gained holidays with pay but it was not until 1975 that a 40-hour week with 20 days’ annual paid holiday was established (though not enshrined in law).<sup>360</sup> By the 1990s most British workers did get paid time off, though in 1998 an estimated six million still received less than four weeks paid leave. Millions more workers experienced uncertainty about holiday entitlement and there was little legal support if time off was not given.<sup>361</sup> The first-year employers could not count Christmas Day against Europe’s four-week holiday minimum was as recent as 2007. Since 2009 British workers have been entitled to 28 days paid annual holiday but still have no statutory right to paid leave on bank or public holidays. British workers have the longest working hours, the shortest statutory holidays; in short, the worst leisure provision in Europe -- and the smallest number of holiday homes.

Perhaps that is no coincidence.

### 3.8 Workers’ movements

The advent of paid holidays in Norway created anxiety about how workers would use their new leisure time. Workers’ sports clubs believed the answer was to increase educational and sporting activity quite separately from “bourgeois” or national teams. The first such club in Norway was founded in 1909 and renamed *Fagforeningernes TIF* (Unions’ Gymnastics and Sports

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<sup>358</sup> Riddoch, Blossom, P 176

<sup>359</sup> D. Harrison and R. Sharpley, *Mass Tourism in a Small World*, (Wallingford: CAB International, 2017), p.97.

<sup>360</sup> Simpson, *Going on Holiday*, p.53.

<sup>361</sup> 10 per cent of the Scottish workforce still received no paid holidays in 1995

Association) in 1916.<sup>362</sup> In the 1920s the Norwegian Wrestling Federation banned fifteen TIF members for taking part in a "politicised" wrestling bout where the Internationale had been played.<sup>363</sup> There was already an *Arbeidernes Idrettsopposisjon* (Workers' Sports Opposition), but this incident helped spur the creation of a new federation in 1924, *Arbeidernes Idrettsforbund AIF* (Worker's Sports Federation) which immediately joined the Red Sport International. Initially an Oslo-based movement, AIF began forming clubs in different parts of the country and had 96 sports teams and a combined membership of 6,608 in 1925. Originally dominated by communists, it was taken over by Labour-supporting candidates in 1927 and co-hosted the *Winter Spartakiad* (Workers' Olympiad) in 1928.

Red not national flags were used, the best athletes were awarded with diplomas, not medals, visiting athletes stayed mostly with local families, events were open to all-comers, emphasizing the importance of mass participation rather than elites, women were included (unlike the Olympic Games at that time) and the Workers' Olympics included poetry, song, drama, artistic displays, pageantry and political debate.<sup>364</sup> (see footnote 422 ; page 125)

Thereafter communists formed their own sporting organization, *Rød Sport* (Red Sport) but both groups reunited in 1935 at which point AIF had 50,000 members, published the magazine, *Arbeideridrett* (Workers' Sports) and was able to organise a massive rally to celebrate its tenth anniversary in central Oslo (see Figure 3.7) During WW2, when Norway was occupied by Nazi Germany, "bourgeois" and workers' sports clubs combined to boycott events organised by the occupying forces. This "early signal of active resistance against the Germans [was] a stance that gave the sports movement strong credibility."<sup>365</sup> After the war, in 1946, AIF and NIF formally combined to form

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<sup>362</sup> P. Henriksen, 'Arbeidernes Idrettsforbund' in *Store norske leksikon* (Oslo; Kunnskapsforlaget, 2007)

<sup>363</sup> L. Thingsrud, 'Arbeideridrett i kamptid. Et tilbakeblikk på AIF i Akershus', in *Akershus' Årbok 1989*

<sup>364</sup> J. Riordan, 'The Workers' Olympics', in A. Tomlinson and G. Whannel *Five Ring Circus: Money, Power and Politics at the Olympic Games*. (London: Pluto, 1989), pp.98-112.

<sup>365</sup> K. Heinemann, *Sport Clubs in Various European Countries*, (Reading: Schattauer Verlag, 1999)

*Norges idrettsforbund og olympiske og paralympiske komité* (Norwegian Olympic and Paralympic Committee and Confederation of Sports).

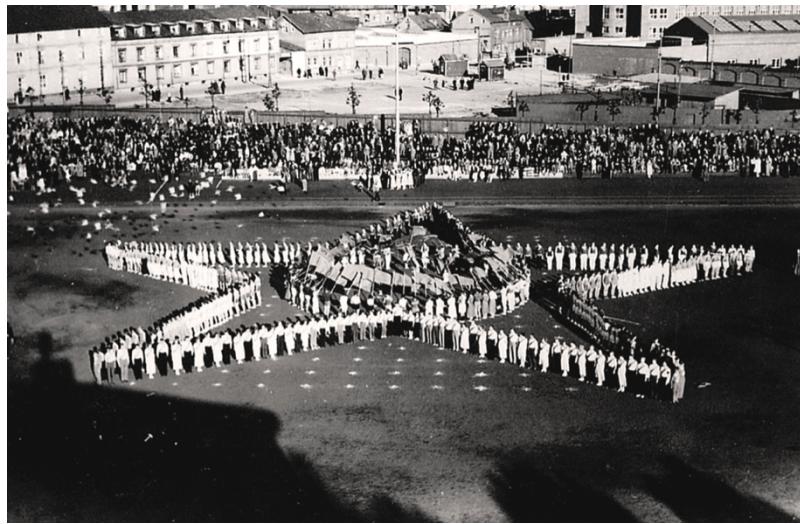


Figure 3.7 AIF 10th anniversary celebrations in Oslo<sup>366</sup>

But the *Arbeiderbevegelsen* (workers' movement) developed beyond sport and the usual forums of party, trade union and co-operative enterprise. In the 1920s workers' associations were set up for Esperanto speakers, abstainers, theatre-goers, hunting enthusiasts, adult learners, athletes, radio listeners, Christians, first aiders and children.<sup>367</sup> (See footnote 404 ; page 121). Leisure rapidly changed from being something spontaneous and informal to something far more organised and locations changed from private moments spent alone at home, to shared experiences in the public arena – whether at cinemas or political meetings, union-run holiday homes or the great marching band competitions, which “ran like an epidemic” around 1930. “In Oslo one could live and die in the movement – there was even a workers' co-operative funeral service operating in the working-class town of Aker.”<sup>368</sup> According to Finn Moe, later a leading Norwegian figure in NATO;

By creating our own culture, we are creating the world for ourselves, as the labour movement should be - a world that cannot

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<sup>366</sup> P. Larsen: *Med AIF-stjerna på brystet*, (Oslo: Tiden,1979), p.13.

<sup>367</sup> Kjeldstadli, Åtte timer arbeid, p.80.

<sup>368</sup> ibid p.80.

help but stand in contrast to the bourgeois world, because it thinks and feels differently about things than all the inhabitants of castles do.<sup>369</sup>

But the growth of commercial recreational pursuits caused leaders of the *Arbeiderbevegelsen* to worry that the best activists would be plucked from their class background by watching football, going to the cinema, dancehalls or even huts, and leaderless workers would lose the will to fight for their rights and "prioritise the record player not the revolution."<sup>370</sup> Time spent hanging around on the streets was feared as a source of distraction and "contamination";

Life on the street signalled abomination; urban conditions, dark nights, poor people, smoking, "laddishness, drunkenness and growing lust" in the doorways, crime, vandalism, children's exploitation, movies, bazaars, lotteries and other temptations. The project to split off from civil society was also a desire to shut off capitalist mind pollution. It was a new form of bathing where one shed bourgeois contamination and dirt.<sup>371</sup> (see footnote 421 ; page 125).

Chief amongst worker activists was Martin Tranmæl, a hugely influential figure who co-founded the official Labour Party paper *Ny Tid* in 1897 and was also a great believer in the importance of *fritid* (free time) and *friluftsliv* (outdoor living).<sup>372</sup> When he became editor of *Arbeiderbladet* (the workers' paper) in 1921, circulation doubled.<sup>373</sup>

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<sup>369</sup> Labour youth magazine, (*Arbeider Ungdommen*) 1929

<sup>370</sup> Kjeldstadli, Åtte timer arbeid, pp. 71-93.

<sup>371</sup> Ibid. p. 81-2; "Norwegian workers did not support military but moral rearmament. To quote Finn Moe in an article about the Workers College in Malmøya: Those who came aimed to "seal the bond of brotherhood and in seriousness and celebration experience themselves as clean, upright, socialist people."

<sup>372</sup> *Store Norske Leksikon* Bjørgum J (2011) [https://snl.no/Martin\\_Tranmæl](https://snl.no/Martin_Tranmæl) Accessed May 2017  
Tranmæl travelled to work in the USA as a painter in the first years of Norway's independence and studied the organisation, theory and methods of the American Labour movement. From 1907-1911 he travelled round Europe and was imprisoned for political agitation after his return to Norway in 1915. Strongly inspired by the Russian revolution in 1917, Tranmæl was in the revolutionary group that won a majority at the party's annual congress in 1918 when the party split.

<sup>373</sup> ibid



After a visit to England in 1910 Tranmæl wrote critically about workers' leisure habits:

Their spiritual food was cheap, petty sensationalist magazines – they were gluttons for family scandals, betting and other sports-oriented idiocy. Did this not give the capitalist class good reason to feel safe?<sup>374</sup>

The workers' movement provided sports clubs and collective leisure *hytte* for members with dormitories, bunks and shared kitchen and bathroom facilities. In 1891 a group of typographers (the first group of workers to get holiday time by law in 1893) founded the Gutenberg walking club - their motto was 'Fresh air brings wealth'. The group arranged trips around Oslo starting at 6-7pm on Saturday and lasting until 8pm on Sunday. In 1909 the Gutenberg group bought some land in Maridalen to build a hut, and finished it in 1913.<sup>375</sup> The growth of the *Arbeiderbevegelsen* inevitably led to a rise in militancy. During the 1920s, there was dramatic conflict in the Norwegian labour market, as food and fuel prices reached the highest levels ever seen in Norway.<sup>376</sup>

<sup>374</sup> Kjeldstadli, Åtte timer arbeid, p.79.

<sup>375</sup> Lyngø, Fritid er sosial sak, pp. 26-28; In 1993; The typographers' union bought Sæterbraaten in Hadeland Forest in 1899.

<sup>376</sup> Libæk and Stenersen, *A History of Norway*, pp. 103-5.

**Retail prices for food, fuel and gasoline in Øre per kg.**

	Beef	Mutton	Bacon	Cod	Klippfish	Butter	Eggs	Milk
1917	280	346	395	154	108	468	393	30
1918	462	532	506	194	95	624	600	44
1919	518	513	553	228	102	720	666	51
1920	467	504	528	187	177	772	706	55
1921	457	453	505	162	206	706	624	53
<b>1922</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>354</b>	<b>410</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>199</b>	<b>575</b>	<b>459</b>	<b>41</b>
1923	367	343	361	133	184	602	423	41
1924	442	385	419	149	195	738	431	46

Table 3.4 Retail prices Norway

**Retail prices for food, fuel and gasoline in Øre per kg - 2**

	Flour	Rye	Bread	Oats	Potato	Coffee	Sugar	Chocolate	Wood
1917 ...	79	67	102	93	16	360	111	294	5996
1918 ...	88	46	139	103	22	405	117	414	8157
1919 ...	75	58	114	83	23	447	122	386	8671
1920 ...	109	80	122	104	26	511	187	378	11715
1921 ...	99	74	121	103	29	433	164	350	9490
<b>1922 ...</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>430</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>316</b>	<b>7646</b>
1923 ...	57	46	82	65	18	429	125	313	7267
1924 ...	66	53	91	74	28	595	141	371	8002

Table 3.5 Retail prices for food & fuel <sup>377</sup>

During World War I Norway remained neutral and some speculators made a fortune. So, in 1914 the Norwegian stock market was booming due to the demand for Norwegian goods. But in 1917, Germany declared war against non-friendly vessels and Norway took heavy losses. A recession replaced the boom and food shortages and rising prices hit the poorly-paid. Tables 3.4 and 3.5 show the steady escalation of prices for basic foodstuff during World War One. In 1917 the government set up municipal supply committees, banned the use of potatoes or grain for distilling, rationed flour, bread, tea, sugar, bread and coffee and set up the National Price Directorate. Such a level of state intervention was hitherto unknown. The rising value of the kroner meant

<sup>377</sup> Weekly bulletin *Statistics Norway* <https://www.ssb.no/a/histstat/tabeller/12-12-7t.txt> Accessed June 2013

thousands of farmers with loans lost their farms in forced sales, until neighbours took direct action to deter potential buyers and forced banks to reduce debts and allow the original owners to return.<sup>378</sup> Unemployment boomed and by 1918 food supplies were almost totally exhausted (at that time Norway produced only a third of the grain it consumed.) Fridtjof Nansen approached the American Food Administrator Herbert Hoover for supplies, and they arrived later that year, narrowly averting starvation.<sup>379</sup> In 1921 GDP per capita fell by 11% – a collapse exceeded only by the UK.<sup>380</sup> In March 1921 a five-year period of compulsory arbitration expired. Employers and trade unions joined forces to oppose its renewal, setting the scene for a major strike. Within months Norwegian employers had proposed a 33 per cent wage reduction and in May the Norwegian Seafarers Union called a strike, joined by most other transport unions. Two weeks later, on 26 May 1921, 120,000 workers began Norway's first general strike and all except rail, telegraph and hospital workers were involved. The increasingly polarised situation seemed to echo the days before the Russian Revolution when "bourgeois" political leaders looked on helplessly from the sidelines.<sup>381</sup> In Norway however, that did not happen. The government took control of the vacant ships and found workers to operate them, under police protection. The Federation of Labour and the State Mediator agreed in June 1921 that all but the seamen and transportation workers would return to work. Gradually these workers too returned to the workplace.<sup>382</sup> Organised labour lost the strike in 1921, but the experience made the Labour Party's leadership more cautious and its new less confrontational approach brought greater electoral success. In 1922 Labour MPs voted for compulsory arbitration legislation; in 1923, Labour quit Comintern; in 1927 the Social Democrats came back to the Labour fold and together they won 59 of 150 seats compared with 32 before their reconciliation. Economically, the General Strike

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<sup>378</sup> Libaek and Stenersen, *A History of Norway*, p.102.

<sup>379</sup> M.M. Cohen, *A Stand Against Tyranny: Norway's Physicians and the Nazis*, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1997).

<sup>380</sup> O.H. Grytten, *Economic Policy and Labour Markets in Nordic Countries*, XIV International Economic History Congress, Helsinki 2006, p.6.

<sup>381</sup> Daniels, *From the Vikings to Our Own Times*, p.362.

<sup>382</sup> J. Bunker, *A History of the SIU*, Seafarers International Union, 1983.

was a turning point too. In 1922, Norway's economy had been judged "one of the worst performers in the western world."<sup>383</sup> But confrontation between unions and employers resulted in two pivotal agreements: *the Main Agreement* which set up rules for wage negotiations and collective agreements and gave workers the right to form unions and elect shop stewards.<sup>384</sup> The *Crisis Settlement* between the Labour and Agrarian Parties in 1935, proposed large scale state investment in land clearance, industrial development, hydro-electric power stations, roads and railways. "The means of production would not be nationalised but the state would have greater power to regulate and control the economy."<sup>385</sup> Subsidies for farming and fishing and public works had been initiated by previous non-socialist governments. But the scale of investment was unprecedented and the consequences of the agreements, far-reaching:

First, they ended the era of deep-seated and destructive conflict in the labour market by establishing a robust framework for negotiations over wages and work conditions. Secondly, this framework spilled over to other areas of economic governance and contributed to the negotiated economy, which became a key aspect of the Scandinavian model. And it set the train running for the all-encompassing, universalist approach to social policy.<sup>386</sup>

Such a negotiated economy failed to emerge in Scotland, despite similar levels of efforts and organisation by trade unions and a plethora of grassroots socialist organisations.

## Scotland

The Socialist Sunday school movement began in Glasgow during the 1890s and from the start bore strong similarities to the Norwegian *Arbeiderbevegelsen*.

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<sup>383</sup> Grytten, Economic Policy, pp 3-7: Total unemployment rose from 1% in 1919 to 8% in 1926. In manufacturing it reached more than 18 per cent the same year.

<sup>384</sup> Libaek and Stenersen, *A History of Norway*, p.113.

<sup>385</sup> Ibid. p.113.

<sup>386</sup> N. Brandal, O. Bratberg and D.E Thorsen, *The Nordic Model of Social Democracy*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) pp.109-114.

Working-class radicals were challenging middle-class liberal philanthropy and its representation of the working class as helpless, incapable of collective activity or self-governance.<sup>387</sup>

Beyond the growing party-political Labour movement, an array of adult educational and cultural enterprises had sprung up: from lectures to reading groups and classes on economics, history and politics. Socialist Sunday schools were established to imbue different values and outlooks in the minds of children and combat the influence of Sunday Schools in Christian churches,

As the orthodox Sunday Schools serve as a recruiting ground for all creeds, so will the Socialist Sunday Schools become the chief recruiting ground for the adult Socialist organisations in the future.<sup>388</sup>

Meetings were weekly and aimed to develop the habit of questioning amongst young people based on a curriculum of activity.<sup>389</sup> In March 1901, the *Young Socialist* newspaper reported the existence of fifteen SS schools: Bradford, Edinburgh, Halifax, Huddersfield and Paisley each had one, while Glasgow boasted six, and London had just four. Already Scotland had half the total.<sup>390</sup> By 1907 the UK total had quadrupled, with thirteen in Glasgow, and a further four across Scotland, eighteen in London, thirteen in the Yorkshire District and twelve in Lancashire.<sup>391</sup> Still, almost a third of SS schools were in Scotland. Scotland, like Norway, was a seed-bed of radicalism.

The strength of the Glasgow contingent – in numbers and enthusiasm – patterned the whole British movement. Miner, union organiser and Scottish Labour Party founder Keir Hardie effectively kickstarted the initiative in

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<sup>387</sup> J. Gerrard, *Radical childhoods: Schooling and the struggle for social change*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014) p.47

<sup>388</sup> *Socialist Sunday Schools; Aims, Objects and Organisations*, National Council of British Socialist Sunday Schools (henceforth NCBSSS) (undated), p. 6 William Gallacher Memorial Library/Democratic Left Archive (WGML, Glasgow).

<sup>389</sup> Interview with Rose Kerrigan by N. C. Rafeek in *Communist Women in Scotland; Red Clydeside from the Russian Revolution to the end of the Soviet Union*, (New York: 2008), pp. 26-35.

<sup>390</sup> Socialist Sunday School Collection. Accessed April 2019

<https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/search/archives/0550d3b8-9a35-3b4c-918c-060891673d0b>

<sup>391</sup> L. Glasier, *Socialist Sunday Schools: A Reply to the Sabbath School Teachers' Magazine* (Glasgow: Glasgow and District Socialist Sunday School Union, 1907), pp. 19–20.

Scotland in 1892, with a monthly column aimed specifically at children, in the *Labour Leader* which he owned and edited.<sup>392</sup> That year he also won the English seat of West Ham South as an independent candidate in 1892, and subsequently helped form the Independent Labour Party (ILP). Hardie proposed the formation of a club called the "Crusaders" and by 1895 with a thousand children enrolled, he wrote to colleagues in Glasgow urging them to establish formal classes.<sup>393</sup> ILP trades union organiser Caroline Martyn suggested the class be called a Sunday school -- she had a high church upbringing in Lincolnshire and worked on the Christian Weekly – and called a meeting in 1896 to form the Glasgow Socialist Sunday School. She became its secretary and the first openly-socialist school for children in the whole of Britain, opened in Glasgow.<sup>394</sup> This was hardly coincidental.

In 1897, Glaswegian Archie McArthur took over the Crusaders' column from Keir Hardie and effectively became the national organiser of the new Socialist Sunday schools (SSS).<sup>395</sup> McArthur, a stair-railer to trade, had also been President of the Glasgow Christian Socialist League.<sup>396</sup>

The connections between religion and socialism amongst SSS founders in Scotland produced a curriculum that regarded socialism “not only as a system of ethics but as ... a kind of agnostic religion, agnostic as to belief in God but involving faith in the perception of transcendent moral law.”<sup>397</sup>

Growth of the SSS movement in London was prompted by the move south of Scottish trade unionist Alex Gossip, who became assistant-secretary of the new Amalgamated Furniture Trades Association in 1902 and promptly published *A Child's Socialist Reader* by Glasgow-based SSS activist Katherine Bruce Glasier.<sup>398</sup> Some Sunday Schools ran children's orchestras, encouraged

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<sup>392</sup> *Labour Leader*, April 1895

<sup>393</sup> L. Glasier, in *Young Socialist*, Jan 1906.

<sup>394</sup> F. Reid, ‘Socialist Sunday Schools in Britain, 1892–1939’, *International Review of Social History* Vol 11, Issue 1 (1966); In 1892, the Social Democratic Federation (SDF) member Mary Gray had opened the first British SSS amidst the Battersea dock strikes. But it didn’t trigger the wave of school openings that followed the Glasgow launch a few years later.

<sup>395</sup> "Chats with Crusaders", in *Labour Leader*, March, 1897.

<sup>396</sup> L. Glasier in, Jan 1906.

<sup>397</sup> Reid F. Socialist Sunday Schools.

<sup>398</sup> A.G. Harrison, G. Bruce Glasier, *A Child's Socialist Reader* Young Socialist June 1902.

choral singing and folk dancing and put on festivals of music and dancing to attract non SSS audiences as well as country rambles via trams to get out of the cities.

In 1909 the National Council of British Socialist Sunday Schools was formed (NCBSSS), with Alex Gossip as its first president.<sup>399</sup> Its ten socialist commandments (later changed to precepts) were political and ethical tablets of stone, recited by children and teachers in SSS meetings and used as the basis for lessons.<sup>400</sup> The Socialist Sunday School Song Book, used throughout the country was compiled by the NCBSSS but published by the Glasgow Clarion Federation. (Figure 3.8)

Children were trained to become future leaders and encouraged to undertake organisational tasks like minuting meetings.<sup>401</sup>

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<sup>399</sup> Gerrard, Radical childhoods, p.106

<sup>400</sup> SSS Ten Socialist Commandments/Precepts

1. Love your schoolfellows, who will be your fellow-workmen in life.
2. Love learning which is the food of the mind; be as grateful to your teacher as to your parents.
3. Make every day holy by good and useful deeds and kindly actions.
4. Honour the good, be courteous to all, bow down to none.
5. Do not hate or speak evil of anyone. Do not be revengeful, but stand up for your rights and resist oppression.
6. Do not be cowardly. Be a friend to the weak, and love justice.
7. Remember that the good things of the earth are produced by labour. Whoever enjoys them without working for them is stealing the bread of the workers.
8. Observe and think in order to discover the truth. Do not believe what is contrary to reason, and never deceive yourself or others.
9. Do not think that those who love their own country must hate and despise other nations, or wish that, which is a remnant of barbarism.
10. Work for the day when all men and women will be free citizens of one fatherland, and live together as brothers and sisters in peace and righteousness.

<sup>401</sup> F. Reid, Socialist Sunday Schools.

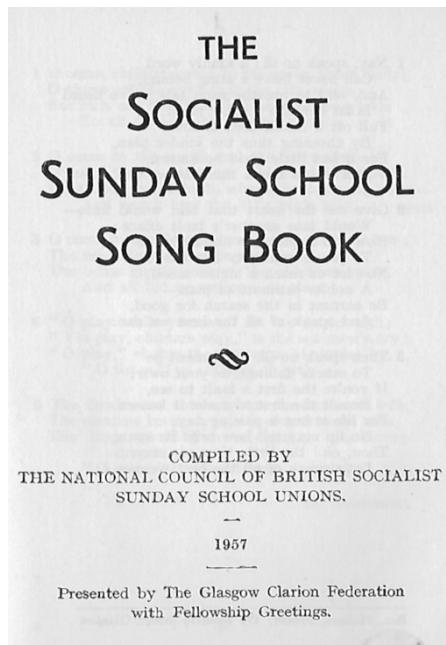


Figure 3.8 Socialist Sunday School Song Book

The founder of Scotland's largest hutting community at Carbeth, William Ferris was a living embodiment of SSS values and behaviour. Even though there's no formal proof he was a member, it seems very likely since his son Murray (born in 1949) was sent to a Socialist Sunday school in Clydebank funded by the Clarion movement. Murray recalls that his father dutifully took minutes of every meeting, even early camping expeditions;

I remember him saying he went out to Cadder Woods with friends when they were boys and they took minutes of the informal meetings they had and produced a diary of their movements. They were very organised.<sup>402</sup>

Murray Ferris remembers Paul Robeson, the African-American singer and actor, marching with the communist contingent at the Glasgow May Day rally in 1960.<sup>403</sup> Robeson led the 10,000 crowd in Queen's Park with a rendition of Loch Lomond, leaving an indelible impression on the young Murray Ferris who

<sup>402</sup> Semi structured interview with Murray Ferris February 2015

<sup>403</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 2 May 1960

remembers the park being covered with hundreds of floats created by SSS branches, like his own.<sup>404</sup>

Just like the separate workers associations of the Norwegian *Arbeiderbevegelsen*, the Socialist Sunday schools organised monthly 'At Homes' to engage children in wider cultural activities (singing, musical performance, dancing); encourage communal attitudes and provide relief from the drudgery of working-class life. Rambling and cycling were intended to develop an appreciation of nature denied by crowded city living and Esperanto was taught as an introduction to the new socialist working-class culture of internationalism.<sup>405</sup> (See footnote 364 ; page 110) The organisation of SS schools was democratic and non-hierarchical leaving members feeling quite different to their Christian counterparts, "not least because [we] were taught to be independent and to respect but not bow down to others."<sup>406</sup> There could be no better summary of William Ferris' direct, self-assured manner when he first proposed huts at Carbeth to its owner, Allan Barns Graham.

Robert Blatchford's socialist paper, *The Clarion*, was launched in 1891 and, like Tranmæl's *Arbeiderbladet* in Norway, it acted as "a cultural support for socialists."<sup>407</sup> The wider movement included Cinderella Clubs, (which provided meals and entertainment for poor children) and societies for singing, rambling and camping. There were horse-drawn Clarion vans (Figure 3.9) shows one Glasgow-built van), in which women travelled round Britain preaching the principles of a socialist society, accompanied by local cycling clubs. This connection between cycling and socialism is important because William Ferris - a keen cyclist and Clarion organiser - played such a significant role in the establishment of huts at Carbeth. (see footnote 40; page 206).

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<sup>404</sup> Rafeek, *Communist Women*, p.63.

<sup>405</sup> Gerrard, *Radical childhoods*, p.23. Murray Ferris also recalls his father speaking Esperanto.

<sup>406</sup> Interview with Marion Henery by Neil C. Rafeek in *Communist Women*, p.98.

<sup>407</sup> S.G. Jones, 'Sport, Politics and the Working Class', (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008).



**Figure 3.9 Women's Van built by Glasgow Clarion Handicraft Guild 1914**

Clarion Cycling began as a non-competitive pastime and a practical way to distribute socialist literature - mirroring Nansen's lofty exhortation that all Norwegians should "practise *idræt* and detest sport and record-breaking." But in Glasgow and Manchester, Clarion Cyclists soon added a "racing" wing. Dismissed by some as the "scorching fraternity", the Glasgow Clarion Cycling Club became only the second in Britain to hold time trials in 1900 on the concrete track at Celtic Park. Five years later the event was moved to the rival Rangers stadium. Cash raised through admission fees and programmes went to the Glasgow Clarion Cinderella Club for their work with poor children.<sup>408</sup> Respite for city children was also offered at the Clarion Home for Poor Children in Errol (set up by local members' contributions) which took batches of children from Dundee and Perth for weekly stays;

While the newcomers were pale-faced and flaccid-looking— real town birds—the returning children were rosy and healthy-looking. Even a week makes a wonderful difference to the little ones.<sup>409</sup> (See footnote 286; page 92)

This emphasis on the healing qualities of fresh air, country life and the great outdoors, became a distinctive feature of the Clarion Movement in Scotland. The Camping Section of the Clarion Field Club was instituted on Arran

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<sup>408</sup> D. Pye, *Fellowship is Life; Story of National Clarion Cycling Club* (London: Clarion Publishing, 1995), p.63.

<sup>409</sup> *Dundee Evening Telegraph* - Tuesday 20 August 1901

in 1896.<sup>410</sup> (see footnote 51; page 25) The Clarion Scouts in Glasgow became unpaid distributors of the socialist Daily Herald, founded in 1910 by the London print workers' union, which was the world's best-selling daily newspaper in 1933. <sup>411</sup>

Meetings are held all over the city every Sunday, at which the Daily Herald is well advertised. The Scouts have also a fine system of distribution. Every street in Glasgow is being circularised, and copies of the Herald given away.<sup>412</sup>

According to the biographer of the Clarion Cycling Club, Denis Pye, in pre-war Britain generally, cycling and socialism were intertwined.

In the twenty years before the First World War a Clarion cyclist, was someone riding a machine with saddlebag crammed or carrier piled high with copies of [The Clarion], all of which would be sold or given away.<sup>413</sup>

This seems to be another perfect description of the young William Ferris. (See footnote 26; page 204).

Clarion Cyclists believed that political awareness grew as workers got involved in the sport. The founder of the first Clarion Cycling Club in Birmingham, Tom Groom, claimed; 'the frequent contrasts a cyclist gets between the beauties of nature and the dirty squalor of towns makes him more anxious than ever to abolish the present system.'<sup>414</sup> Socialists in the temperance movement also believed cycling was a wholesome activity that could 'wean workers away from the dreaded intoxicant,' and cycling was connected with the fight for a shorter working week.<sup>415</sup>

It's hard to prove the strength of the connection between cycling and socialist activity today, since no archive of Clarion or SSS material exists in Scotland, and research about worker's political movements and living

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<sup>410</sup> Gawsfor, Daily Record - Thursday 02 February 1939

<sup>411</sup> The Daily Herald was sold and repackaged as the Sun in 1964.

<sup>412</sup> Daily Herald - Thursday 19 September 1912

<sup>413</sup> Pye, *Fellowship is Life*, p.65.

<sup>414</sup> ibid

<sup>415</sup> ibid

conditions, rarely explores their leisure lives. Nonetheless, in 1909 a meeting of a thousand Clarion cyclists was organised by the Independent Labour Party with delegations from Glasgow, Clydebank, Motherwell and Govan.<sup>416</sup> This massive meeting constituted about 20 per cent of the ILP's UK membership. Cycling seems to have the same galvanising effect on the socialist movement as Saturday football had on the Boys Brigade. (see footnote 249; page 99). On one Saturday in July 1910, 10 Clarion races headed out of Glasgow in every direction.<sup>417</sup>

But the advent of war saw the Clarion paper lose support as many readers and cyclists enlisted (some like William Ferris maintained their cycling credentials by joining the Army Cyclist Corps).<sup>418</sup> Meanwhile, the searing criticism of pacifist socialists by the editor; "no right to exist upon the planet at all," alienated so many serving Clarion members that in 1918, the Glasgow Clarion Cyclists were instrumental in removing the words; "as advocated by the Clarion paper" from the National Clarion Cycling Club's membership card.<sup>419</sup>

The organisational capacity, enthusiasm and sheer diversity of Clarion activity in Glasgow was demonstrated by a showcase event in the McLellan Galleries, which featured Clarion Cyclists, Campers, Choir, Film Group, Scouts and Clarion Players who performed a new Bernard Shaw comedy and took up a collection to send food to members of the International Brigade in Spain.<sup>420</sup>

Teams from the National Clarion Cycling Club also competed in the Worker's Olympiads in the 1920s and 30s and in 1930 the *Clarion Cyclist* newspaper attacked the biggest "bourgeois" cycling organisation, the Cyclists' Touring Club of Britain for "glorifying capitalism" - echoing calls for workers' autonomy in Norway. (see figure 3.10)

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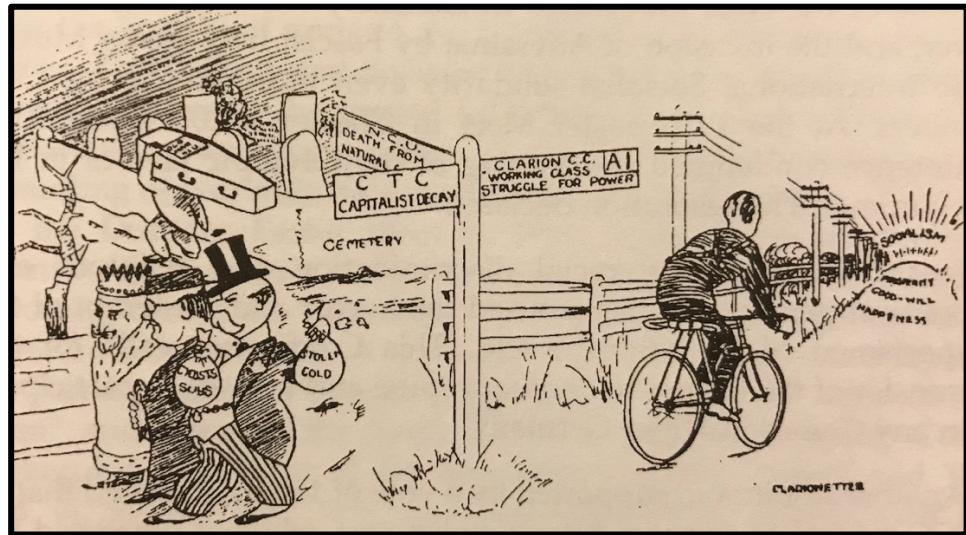
<sup>416</sup> *Falkirk Herald* - Saturday 17 July

<sup>417</sup> *Scottish Referee* - Friday 08 July

<sup>418</sup> Pye, *Fellowship is Life*. Wartime circulation plummeted from 60k to 10k

<sup>419</sup> *ibid*

<sup>420</sup> *Daily Record* - Thursday 02 February 1939



**Figure 3.10 Cartoon from Clarion Cyclist 1930 opposing the Cyclists Touring Club<sup>421</sup>**  
(See footnote 370 ; page 112)

It's our duty to build up the Clarion Cycling Club so that at least one sport will be under the control of the workers and thus cut out the harmful propaganda carried out ...by such tools of the capitalists as the CTC.<sup>422</sup> (See footnote 364 ; page 110).

In 1936, Glaswegian Alex Taylor (a member of the Clarion's Kinning Park section) was picked to lead a team of five Clarion cyclists at the People's Olympiad in Barcelona. But the event was cancelled when civil war broke out. Some wanted to detach the Clarion cyclists from the cause of socialism to boost popularity, but Taylor objected claiming; "When a rider competes in the Clarion name, his success ... indirectly helps the cause of socialism. The knowledge that he is riding for a principle... gives new energy to tired legs."<sup>423</sup>

After the war cycling was no longer confined to proselytising socialists. Costs had fallen and Scotland had entered the "Golden Age of Cycling." Bicycles crowded racks outside factories and at the end of shifts, "bell-ringing torrents of cloth-capped workers came cycling out of factory gates."<sup>424</sup> Exploring the

<sup>421</sup> Pye, *Fellowship is Life*, p.49

<sup>422</sup> Ibid.

<sup>423</sup> Ibid.

<sup>424</sup> J. McGurn, *On Your Bicycle: The Illustrated Story of Cycling*, (York: Murray,1999), p.7.

countryside by bicycle had become a popular leisure pursuit by 1935 with ten million regular cyclists compared to 2.5 million regular drivers.<sup>425</sup>

Beyond the Clarion and Socialist Sunday schools, other Scottish organisations were forging connections between political and land access rights. The Woodcraft Folk, sponsored by the Cooperative movement, had branches in Glasgow and the west of Scotland, and was formed as an alternative to the militarist Boy Scouts.<sup>426</sup> Meetings were held weekly and Elfins (the youngest children) learnt about outdoor activities sitting around a campfire, while Hardihoods (older children) went on outings where they met other groups and practised the ideals of cooperation.<sup>427</sup>

Proletarian Sunday schools were launched by Tom Anderson, a dissident from the SSS, who espoused an outright class war approach.<sup>428</sup> In 1907, Anderson was responsible for moving that women be included in the tenth socialist precept thus encouraging gender equality in schools.<sup>429</sup> Aside from this the Proletarian Sunday Schools' served mostly to turn respectable opinion against the wider Socialist Sunday School movement.<sup>430</sup> A meeting of Glasgow Presbytery in 1921 discussed a special committee report on Socialist Sunday Schools which criticised the local Education Authority for letting them use school premises "without supervision." Although fewer than 4,000 children attended SSS while 120,000 attended church-run Sunday schools, the committee expressed its anxiety about "the widespread nature and thorough organisation of the Socialist movement, especially among the young in Glasgow";

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<sup>425</sup> ibid

<sup>426</sup> R. Price, *Labour in British Society*, (New York: Croom Helm, 1986), p.73.

<sup>427</sup> M. Savage, 'Urban Politics and the Rise of the Labour Party, 1919–39', in L. Jamieson and H. Corr (eds.), *State, Private Life and Political Change*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1990).

<sup>428</sup> T. Islwyn Nicholas, *Tom Anderson: Apostle of Revolution* (Glasgow: Willie Gallacher Memorial Library, 1930).

<sup>429</sup> GCA/SRA TD1399/1 *Essays and lectures given by Alfred Russell 1900– 1922 P 27*

<sup>430</sup> National Library of Scotland 1964, *The Revolution: Means the Abolition of the Capitalist State and the Inauguration of an Industrial Republic: A Magazine for Young Workers* (official organ of the Socialist School), see vol. 1, no. 3, p. 40.

Hatred of the rich, pity for all who labour with their hands and a levelling down of all distinctions was the nature of the teaching ... in the general hymns of the Socialist Sunday school [which was] used to fire the passions of one class against another.<sup>431</sup>

Weeks later, organisers of the Socialist Sunday School Union in Motherwell claimed the movement was being assailed from all sides - by ministers of religion, Presbyteries, the People's League (set up by the editor of the John Bull magazine) and the conservative Primrose League (with a million members in the 1890s.) But the socialists were ready to fight back;

Let the church condemn the system, which allows bad housing, insanitary conditions, rack rents, and a large proportion of our population existing below the subsistence level while the few revel in pomp and luxury. If the Church would only fulfil its mission, the function of Socialist Sunday Schools would cease.<sup>432</sup>

These heated exchanges culminated in the Seditious and Blasphemous Teaching to Children Bill introduced by Sir John Butcher in 1923 who told the Commons;

Class-hatred, a rebel spirit, and hatred and disaffection against the King and Constitution are preached. Private property is anathematised as robbery, and owners of property are held up to execration as "robbers and Judas Iscariots." Revolution on the Russian model is glorified, and, to use their own language, "Russia is the one bright spot."<sup>433</sup>

Surprisingly, given the concerted nature of this attack on a movement based in Scotland, Butcher's efforts to outlaw socialist teaching have received relatively little attention in accounts of Scottish labour history. At the second reading in 1924, Butcher – now Lord Danesfort -- trained his attack on the Proletarian Sunday Schools, linking them with the establishment of the Communist International in 1918. The Bill was passed at second reading and referred to a Committee of the Whole House but parliament was dissolved later that year. Sir

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<sup>431</sup> *The Scotsman* - Thursday 27 January 1921

<sup>432</sup> *Motherwell Times* - Friday 18 February 1921

<sup>433</sup> <https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/1923-03-27/debates/30c41388-7883-49f1-a3ba-ed116296dfc8/NoticesOfMotion>

Arthur Holt tried again in 1927 but the proposal was talked out at the report stage.<sup>434</sup> By 1930 there were only 52 Socialist Sunday Schools affiliated to the National Council – half the membership of 1921. Teaching shifted from describing socialism as a moral code and a form of religion towards a more militant, class conscious and semi-revolutionary Socialism. Political disputes among members in Edinburgh led to children being kept away from Sunday School activities.<sup>435</sup> The Second World War evacuation disrupted the movement in the East End of London leaving it “with little strength outside the West of Scotland where the rump of the Socialist Sunday School movement in Britain lingered on as a symptom of social discontent.”<sup>436</sup>

Nonetheless, the Socialist Sunday Schools produced generations of activists ready for a more militant socialism than the Labour Party or ILP was willing to offer.<sup>437</sup> Their influence can be detected in the story of Douglas Water, a socialist stronghold in the Lanarkshire coalfield. Miners had generally been exempted from conscription but the scale of losses at the front meant they were now included in call ups. Despite mass meetings and threats of strike action across the Scottish coalfield, every pit had fallen in line by April 1918, except Douglas Water.<sup>438</sup> On May Day 1918, 100,000 people marched through Glasgow against the war, led by Clydeside revolutionary John Maclean, and leading suffragettes, rent strike organisers and former Socialist Sunday School pupils Helen Crawfurd and Agnes Dollar. Doubtless some of the marchers came from Douglas Water. Influenced by the ILP, the area had become a bastion of radical politics, with cooperatives, a Clarion Cycling Club, a Socialist Sunday School and even a socialist pipe band. Perhaps it was this rare and heightened level of civic organisation that encouraged the miners of Douglas Water to make an equally

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<sup>434</sup> Reid, *Socialist Sunday Schools*, p.29.

<sup>435</sup> National Council of SSS conference Minutes, 1933.

<sup>436</sup> *The Young Socialist* magazine, Winter, 1964. The SSS movement began earlier and endured longer in the west of Scotland than elsewhere in Britain – part of a cluster of socialist groupings that produced generations of Scottish activists, councillors and MPs. Yet there’s no dedicated archive in Scotland showcasing the scale, effort and impact of civic socialist organisations, though some material is included in Glasgow University’s William Gallacher Memorial Archive.

<sup>437</sup> Rafeek *Communist women*, p. 19.

<sup>438</sup> L. Turbett, ‘The Lanarkshire Village That Defied an Empire’, Accessed March 2018

<https://bellacaledonia.org.uk/2018/03/04/the-lanarkshire-village-that-defied-an-empire/>

rare collective stand against conscription in the early hours of 1 July 1918, when sixty police arrived. The resulting standoff ended with 11 arrests.<sup>439</sup> Local miner James C Welsh, wrote in the following Saturday's edition of the Glasgow-based anti-war newspaper *Forward*; "The spectacle was so impressive and inspiring that it will remain imprinted indelibly on the minds of all in the village."<sup>440</sup>

This was a prelude to the General Strike of January 1919 – itself the culmination of a campaign by the Clyde Workers' Committee (CWC) for a 40-hour week, so that work and wages could be shared with recently demobilised soldiers. Shipbuilding and engineering employers had signed a UK-wide agreement with unions to cut the existing 54-hour week to 47 hours. But fearing the use of an unemployed reserve to undercut wages, the CWC leadership called industrial action. Within four days, 40,000 Clydeside workers were out on strike, supported by electricity supply workers and 36,000 miners in the Lanarkshire and Stirlingshire coalfields.<sup>441</sup> On "Bloody Friday", 31 January 1919, tensions came to a head when 20-60,000 demonstrators arrived in Glasgow's George Square to hear the Lord Provost deliver the government's response to the CWC's demands. But police charged unarmed demonstrators and the ex-servicemen in the crowd quickly retaliated. Strike leaders rushed out of the City Chambers and were beaten or arrested. Fighting continued around the city centre for many hours and there were running battles between police and demonstrators in Townhead and Glasgow Green.<sup>442</sup> According to historian Richard Finlay;

The Glasgow Herald estimated that the potential revolutionaries could call on the support of over 100,000 people. To the middle class the threat seemed real. After all there were militant workers going on strike and a mass movement had forced the government to intervene in the payment of rent, something the middle classes regarded as sacrosanct to the market. And the workers appeared

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<sup>439</sup> ibid

<sup>440</sup> *Dundee Courier* - Saturday 16 May 1931 The Douglas Water incident helped motivate Welsh and *Forward* editor, Tom Johnston to join the Labour Party. Welsh served four terms as a Labour MP and Johnston became the Labour Secretary of State for Scotland who forced landowners to accept the construction of hydro dams across the Highlands, finally bringing "power to the glens" in the 1940s.

<sup>441</sup> I. McLean, *The Legend of Red Clydeside*, (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 1999)

<sup>442</sup> <https://libcom.org/history/articles/40-hours-strike-1919> Accessed May 2014

to be led by committed socialists. The middle class took the leaders of the workers at their word and believed that they were about to abolish the market and take over private property.<sup>443</sup>

This does not appear to have been the organisers' intent. In his memoir, strike leader Willie Gallacher said: "A rising was expected. A rising should have taken place. The workers were ready to effect it; the leadership had never thought of it."<sup>444</sup> Nonetheless, this 'Scottish Bolshevik Revolution' (as the Secretary of State for Scotland described it) prompted the despatch of tanks and 10,000 English soldiers to restore order and machine-gun posts were set up on high buildings in the city centre. After an uneasy stand-off, the 40-hours strike was called off a week later by the Joint Strike Committee. The strike may have failed, but many of its leaders – including John Wheatley, Manny Shinwell and David Kirkwood -- were elected MPs in the 1922 General Election, when the Independent Labour Party swept the board.<sup>445</sup>

But neither the ILP nor the Labour Party managed to achieve the same sort of lasting, historic compromise with capitalism that was reached after the General Strike in Norway. The majoritarianism of the political system fed into the economic sphere, where there was no capacity to create a negotiated economy – British industrial relations were (and still are) based on a confrontational us v them. Furthermore, there was no consensus on the centre-left. Working-class solidarity was weakened by conflict between the Protestant working class and Catholic-Irish labour. And the early promise of the cooperative movement, (Scotland had half a million cooperative members in 1916) did not translate into a political movement. Co-operators claimed they were disproportionately denied exemption from war service, unfairly taxed on dividends and ignored when the government distributed scarce commodities like sugar and cereals. They stood candidates in the 1918 election but by 1924 only one Cooperative MP remained.<sup>446</sup>

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<sup>443</sup> R. Finlay, *Modern Scotland 1914 to 2000* (London: Profile, 2004), p.51.

<sup>444</sup> W. Gallacher, *Revolt on the Clyde*, (Glasgow: Lawrence & Wishart, 1978)

<sup>445</sup> K. Macaskill, 1919 *The Rise of Red Clydeside*, (Glasgow: Biteback, 2019)

<sup>446</sup> C.M.M. MacDonald, 'A different Commonwealth; the Cooperative movement in Scotland' in M.A. Mulhern, J. Beech and E. Thompson, (eds.) *The Working Life of Scots*. Series: Scottish Life and Society (7) Edinburgh (2008), pp. 161-178.

This meant no window opened in Scotland during the inter-war period for political and social change of the sort that appeared in Norway. Consequently, the two countries accelerated onto separate trajectories.<sup>447</sup>

The new Norwegian “negotiated economy” bounced back to pre-war levels within two to three years, though regulation and rationing stayed in place – bread and milk till 1949, meat, cheese, coffee, and sugar till 1952 and the car until 1960 - an important trigger in the rapid post war expansion of *hytte*.<sup>448</sup> New building was dependent on permits, material quotas and licences for foreign currency. But from the war until the discovery of oil in the 1970s, Norwegian GNP rose annually by an average of 5%, and the population grew by 25% to 3.9 million. Income had been equalised and there was a boom in hut construction and ownership.<sup>449</sup>

In Britain, Labour swept to power after the war, winning 37 seats in Scotland – a presence that would dominate Scotland for the next half century. Child allowances, state retirement pensions and unemployment benefit followed Labour’s victory, with the crowning achievement of the NHS in 1948. But Scotland became increasingly dependent on state intervention to prop up its struggling industrial sector, a process intensified by the spate of post-war nationalisation projects- coal in 1947, the railways and electricity in 1948, with iron and steel in 1949.

The close inter-industry connections between iron, steel, coal, shipbuilding and railways were a strength of Scottish industrialisation in the nineteenth century. But the export dependence of shipbuilding, locomotive and related industries made Scottish industry vulnerable to fluctuations in external demand, while the close inter-industry connections meant slumps permeated the economy and had an exaggerated impact. By the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, growing competition from other UK centres and new industrialising countries

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<sup>447</sup> J. Bryden et al, *Northern Neighbours* P48

<sup>448</sup> Danielsen, *From the Vikings to Our Own Times* p. 386

<sup>449</sup> ibid “A civil servant whose disposable income was 80% higher than a worker in 1950 was only 60% higher in 1975. A married pensioner couple in 1960 had 30% of an industrial worker’s disposable income. In 1970 it was 45%.”

reduced profitability in the shipyards, which in turn threatened the dependent steel industry. By 1958, the Clyde shipyards launched only 4.5% of world tonnage, compared with 18% in 1947.<sup>450</sup> Industrial employment reached its peak around 1960, and declined relatively and absolutely thereafter.

While coal, hydro-electricity dams, and considerable forest land were in public ownership for varying periods in 20<sup>th</sup> century Scotland, there was no equivalent to the Norwegian Concession laws, and no linking of rights to exploit natural resources to industrial development. Nor was there a political consensus.<sup>451</sup>

In summary, turn of the century Scotland had the same vigorous and militant type of workers' movement as Norway. It promoted the same wide range of cultural and sporting interests as the *arbeiderbevegelsen*, had the same emphasis on self-organisation, solidarity and education, the same formal, textual socialist underpinnings and a fairly unique infusion of moral and quasi-religious fervour. The worker's movement in Scotland also helped produce a Labour Party and a Labour Government. Yet it did not secure holidays with statutory pay till much later than Norway nor did it generate widespread demand for affordable holiday homes - such was the powerful block that feudal land tenure and inaccessible forestry in Scotland placed on the average person's ability to even conceive of hutting as a viable leisure activity.

But the separate organisation of workers in Sunday schools, sports clubs, drama societies and rambling groups in inter-war Glasgow did produce an inter-war generation of socialists who were competitive athletes, accomplished long-distance cross-country cyclists, lovers of the countryside and confident, self-organising teachers, activists and leaders. This combination of practical and social skills, infused by a shared political outlook was directly deployed in the push for a hutting community at Carbeth, against the grain of landowners' fears and Scotland's very limited democracy.

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<sup>450</sup> Devine, *The Scottish Nation* P 571

<sup>451</sup> J. Bryden et al, *Northern Neighbours* p.107.





## Chapter Four – Case study: Lindøya

Huts are an integral part of Norway's lifestyle, literature and family life - as illustrated in the introductory chapter. (see pages 1-17). But that was not always the case.

In 1922, against the backdrop of high food prices, and a general strike, the Norwegian state decided to give hut sites, albeit on a temporary and restrictive basis, to 600 Oslo workers who had ignored the rules and managed to camp on the islands of Inner Oslo fjord – reaching them first by rowing and later by motorised boats. Those hutting communities are still thriving today with 300 huts on Lindøya, 180 on Nakholmen and around one hundred on Bleikøya.<sup>1</sup> Individual huts are reportedly sold for around 4.8 million kroner (£440,000) but very few come on the market or change hands - testimony to the enduring value placed on these huts by the descendants of the original "land grabbers".<sup>2</sup>

Lindøya's early history gave little indication of the unconventional land-use that would develop there. In 1147 Cistercian monks arrived on the island of Hovedøya – the "main" island, closer to Oslo than all the other fjord islands and half a mile east of Lindøya. (see map Figure 4.6, page 143). The monks were led by Abbot Phillipus from England who built a monastery and a local power base on Hovedøya. The building was burned down and destroyed by the Danish General Mogens Gyldenstierne at the start of the Norwegian Reformation in 1532. At that time, the Church owned 430 properties – including Lindøya -- all of which were then transferred to the Danish King and, after 1814, to the Norwegian State. Thus, in the nineteenth and 20<sup>th</sup> century the inner fjord islands facing Oslo were owned by the Norwegian Government not Oslo *Kommune* or private owners – a crucial point of distinction in the battles over

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<sup>1</sup> I.J. Lyngø, Hyttelivets, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.aftenposten.no/norge/i/Vbqn4/Oslos-dyreste-hytter-har-utedo> Accessed June 2017

*hytte* that would follow.<sup>3</sup> In medieval times the island had a “racy” reputation. Island farms were used to grow food for the monks’ dining room on Hovedøya and Lindøya became a favourite weekend escape for monks keen to avoid the Abbot’s “stern gaze.”<sup>4</sup> After 1532 the monastery on Hovedøya lay in ruins, the monks were expelled and some did pioneering work elsewhere to advance the cultivation of fruit and vegetables – otherwise too expensive for the general public.<sup>5</sup> Lindøya lay deserted for 200 years until an inn opened on the east side of the island in 1750, prompting the creation of a small community of mostly occasional inhabitants with long term leases from the State.<sup>6</sup> In the 1920s this “private” community numbered around 28 households. The *Stamhuset* became a popular weekend retreat for Oslo’s cultural elite in the “nation building years” after separation from Denmark in 1814. Amongst the famous visitors was the reformer and celebrated poet Henrik Wergeland. Influenced by the market gardening traditions pioneered by the monks, he made political connections between land, food and independence.<sup>7</sup> Wergeland’s *For Almuen* (For the Common People) was published in 1830 and *For Arbeiderklassen* (For the working class) in 1832 and called for workers to have access to land, gardens and allotments, 70 years before the advent of *kolonihager* (allotment gardens) in Oslo and *hytte* on the islands of inner Oslo fjord.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> “We are lucky the government owns the islands. I trust the government -- I don’t trust the kommune the same way. When they need a little more money, they sell something.” Anne Marie Normann, Chair Lindøya Vel 1989-2010. Semi-structured interview, 2011.

<sup>4</sup> *Lindøya Vel* 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary publication (Oslo 1997) p.7; “Stories circulated that it was not exactly the spiritual life monks practised amongst the voluptuous, red-cheeked farm girls.”

<sup>5</sup> K.N. Eriksen, *Rodeløkkens Kolonihager* (Oslo: 2007) p.12; The most notable clerical improver was watchman Peder Olsen who travelled with a knapsack full of saplings and taught the people of Hardanger how to graft plants.

<sup>6</sup> The Stamhuset is still standing and is Lindøya’s oldest house.

<sup>7</sup> *Lindøya Vel*, P7; In May 1833 Wergeland stayed in the Stamhuset along with 25 other students: At 5am 18 men rowed into town. Spring came late that year and there were large icebergs floating around the boat. Nevertheless, Wergeland took his clothes off and jumped into the bitter cold morning water and swam between the ice floes amid much cheering and a glass of punch was handed down to him.

<sup>8</sup> Eriksen, *Rodeløkkens Kolonihager* P11; “Wergeland distributed his books along with small seed bags through the slums of East Oslo. This act of Henrik Wergeland had a greater impact (on the case for kolonihager) than allotment holders could ever guess.”

During the early nineteenth century, Lindøya was hardly used except by elite sports clubs.<sup>9</sup> From 1856, however, gymnastics competitions were held every year, and Lindøya attracted large crowds. Evening parties meant Lindøya regained its old reputation for being noisy and rowdy, and after a few years social gatherings were banned. The dramatist, Henrik Ibsen composed a song for one of the final parties in 1859.<sup>10</sup> Essentially, Lindøya was no stranger to leisure, pleasure, excess and drunken behaviour during the nineteenth century – for those who could afford it. Soon though, the island would become the workers' preserve.

From 1905 workers from Oslo's East End started to row out to the islands of Inner Oslo fjord and settled in tents for the summer to escape their narrow, dark and over-crowded tenement flats in the city.<sup>11</sup> These original *landliggerne* (literally those who lie on the land) became island legends -- *Brødkjorer* (Bread Delivery Man) Olsen, Saddler Larsen, Kino-Jonsen, Parafin Hansen and Nylands Hansen – all arrived with “their pale town children and simple tents,” infuriating the affluent citizenry on the nearby peninsula of Bygdøy who complained of “monstrous noise from vile hobos,” across the fjord in *negrelandsbyen* (negro villages). See Figure 4.1.<sup>12</sup> Writer Johan Borgen described the reaction in the magazine, St Hallvard;

I remember still the day when the first small cottages sprang up on Nakkholmen and Lindøya to the indignation of the city fathers when they entered the morning fjord boat from their own country houses and sailed past. They wrote in the newspaper and asked on the train if these people had no shame in life, these people who came and destroyed the pristine nature -- as they sat on the deck with their prejudices and privileges. <sup>13</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> I.J. Lyngø, Hyttelivets, p.44. From 1849 the Association for Shooting (Skarpsskytten) and the Oslo Hunting Club (Christiania Jægerklubs) used Lindøya – both were private men’s clubs.

<sup>10</sup> *Lindøya Vel* 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary publication p.21.

<sup>11</sup> Lyngø, Fritid er sosial sak.

<sup>12</sup> Lyngø, Hyttelivets, p.46.

<sup>13</sup> Borgen, St Hallvard, pp. 10-19.



Figure 4.1 Summer life on Lindøya by J Boes 1920

Borgen had a personal connection with island cabin dwellers. His grandfather H.P Borgen once had a summerhouse on the very fashionable island of Sjursøya -- considered by many to be the pearl of the fjord (Figure 4.2)<sup>14</sup>



Figure 4.2 Sjursøya - pre demolition 1924

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<sup>14</sup> H. Blom, *Indre Oslofjord -- i gamle og nye bilder* (Oslo: Norlis, 2005), p.48

Indeed Borgen's 1933 book *Barndommens rike* describes his idyllic childhood there.<sup>15</sup> But Oslo *Kommune* bought Sjursøya in 1921, demolished the houses and levelled the island -- a million cubic meters of earth and rocks were removed. Indeed, many of the original *hytte* on Lindøya were made from wood "recycled" from the wrecked homes on Sjursøya. By 1933 (Fig 4.3 below) the island was a featureless, concrete peninsula covered with oil tanks.<sup>16</sup>

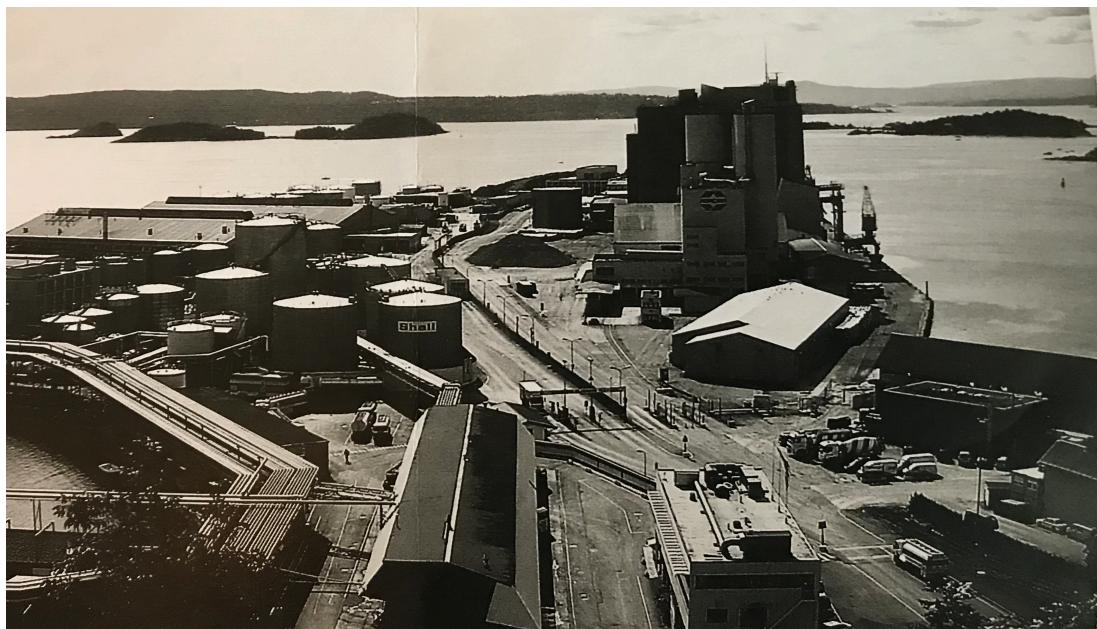


Figure 4.3 Sjursøya - post demolition 1933

The *kommune*'s destructive action on Sjursøya – justified at the time as an act of job creation and port expansion to fight chronic unemployment – created influential opponents in Oslo ready to fight any further industrial island "improvements". The *landliggerne* of Lindøya had won some unlikely allies. And they needed them.

Between 1915 and 1922 more and more tent-people occupied the island. Their behaviour came in for every kind of criticism - they went to the toilet in the forest, drank, fought and danced

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<sup>15</sup> Borgen, St Hallvard, 1933; The island was so subtly undulating that it gave space for 13 houses and no one could see one from the other – sometimes we'd glimpse a roof with a spire. Yes-- there was a tower and a spire, all sorts of cunning architecture, other than the rational. There was no room for strangers - other than those invited.

<sup>16</sup> Blom, Indre Oslofjord, p.49.

throughout the night. So Lindøya got a bad reputation in Kristiania.”<sup>17</sup>

More and more families from Oslo’s industrial east side rowed across to the relatively uninhabited west-side of Lindøya every weekend from early spring to late autumn, and set up tents in the same place, year after year. Between 1912-16 about 10 tents were pitched in a "street formation" on a part of the island known as Solvika. Often mothers and children would go for the whole school summer holiday, while the men went out to the islands on Saturdays “with all the equipment they needed for a weekend – food, drink and an accordion.”<sup>18</sup>

However, the *landliggerne* were not the only people with their eyes on Lindøya. Around 1907 the state received applications to lease land for summer homes from the city's wealthier citizens but opted to rebuff them.<sup>19</sup> It is not clear if the social class of the applicants prompted rejection or the fact that their houses would be permanent – unlike the humble and eminently moveable tents of the *landliggerne*. A more serious threat arose in 1910 when Hovedøya was one of two locations shortlisted as a location for Norway's centenary celebrations in 1914. Lindøya's neighbour would have been transformed into a massive museum and commercial hub with a bridge to Lindøya and Nakkholmen connecting these islands with Hovedøya's new, universally accessible leisure space. Eventually Frogner was chosen for the Jubilee exhibition -- but only after four years of debate.

Hovedøya was backed by left-leaning newspapers *Morgenbladet* and *Tidens Tegn* as a better choice for a “fishing and seafaring nation,” even though its choice would mean the likely destruction of a workers' holiday destination.<sup>20</sup> (Figure 4.4)

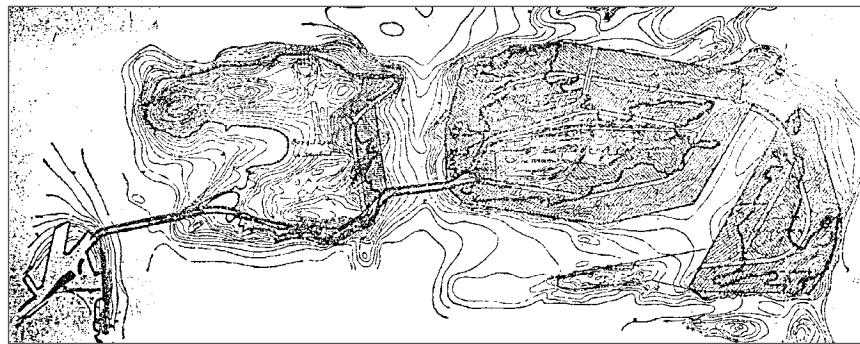
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<sup>17</sup> L. Gjerland, *Oslos øyrike før og noe*, (Oslo: Dreyers Forlag, 2006), p. 85.

<sup>18</sup> ibid pp 84-85

<sup>19</sup> *Byminner* No. 2 1992; The State reportedly viewed the applications like this; “The revenue the state gets at these sites is so small as to be of negligible importance compared with the glory of Lindøya for hundreds perhaps thousands of Oslo's poor who have sanctuary there.”

<sup>20</sup> *Morgenbladet* Sept 1910; “We must go back to the sea.”



**Figure 4.4 Oslo's Vippetangen left & hytte islands right in Jubilee Proposal 1910<sup>21</sup>**

The Jubilee Islands Plan meant the *kommune* would have to buy Hovedøya, Lindøya and Nakholmen from the State and the Department of Agriculture was duly alerted. *Aftenposten* weighed in on the other side arguing in 1910 that the island idyll would be ruined for visitors by building and machines, boat alarms and transport noises.<sup>22</sup> When the final budgets were presented, Frogner was the cheaper option and the Hovedøya proposal fell.<sup>23</sup> The island was eventually bought by the *kommune* in 1949 and is now a rather empty place most of the year with monastery ruins, a small beach with imported sand, woods interspersed with protected grassland, a large marina behind locked gates and wire fences which stop visitors reaching the sea on the northern half of the island. Hovedøya today is neither a bustling *hytte* island nor a grand civic focus - just a large boat-park.

A similar fate might have befallen Lindøya had another Jubilee proposal gone ahead. In 1914, the Norwegian Air Sailing Association applied for the construction of a seaplane harbour on the island -- Oslo's first airstrip. Large chunks of land were dynamited away – this area was subsequently used as a storage yard for boats by the *Akerselvens Båtforening* (Aker River Boat Club).<sup>24</sup> After opposition the seaplane harbour facility was built on neighbouring

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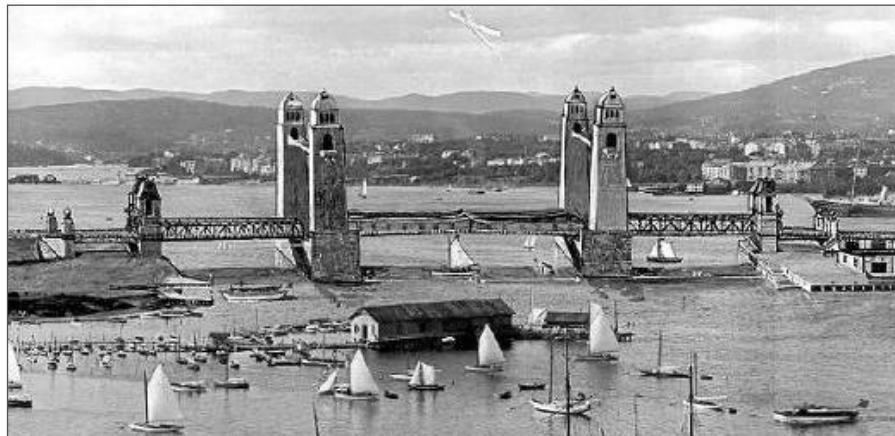
<sup>21</sup> Image from Tidens Tegn 21.10.1910 in Stensby P. *Hvor skal utstillingen ligge?* (Where will the exhibition be located) – *St Hallvard 2* Oslo 1989 pp 32-39

<sup>22</sup> *Aftenposten* 29.10.1910. The Hovedøya plan presented in April 1911 contained two options – a floating pontoon bridge or a permanent bridge at a cost of 365k Kroner.

<sup>23</sup> The final budget was 3.1 million kroner for Hovedøya against 2.9 million for Frogner. *Aftenposten* 1911

<sup>24</sup> Stensby P. *Hvor skal utstillingen ligge?* *St Hallvard 2* Oslo 1989 pp 32-39

Gressholmen instead, but the rejection of one proposal merely heralded the arrival of another. In 1915 Oslo Port Authority announced a competition to find the “contemporary face of the future” for the city's harbour. The winning plan used all the inner Oslo fjord islands to tackle problems of under capacity but it also remained on the drawing board.<sup>25</sup> (see Figure 4.5)



**Figure 4.5 The "contemporary face of the future" Oslo Port Plan 1915**

So, it seemed there was not the political will (or perhaps the cash) to develop the islands of inner Oslo fjord during the early years of the First World War. Development proposals were also defeated by the importance of the islands as green, open spaces for all Oslo citizens – not a self-selecting few. Why then did the state show a tolerance towards *landliggerne* on Lindøya that was not shown to those visiting neighbouring, state-owned islands?

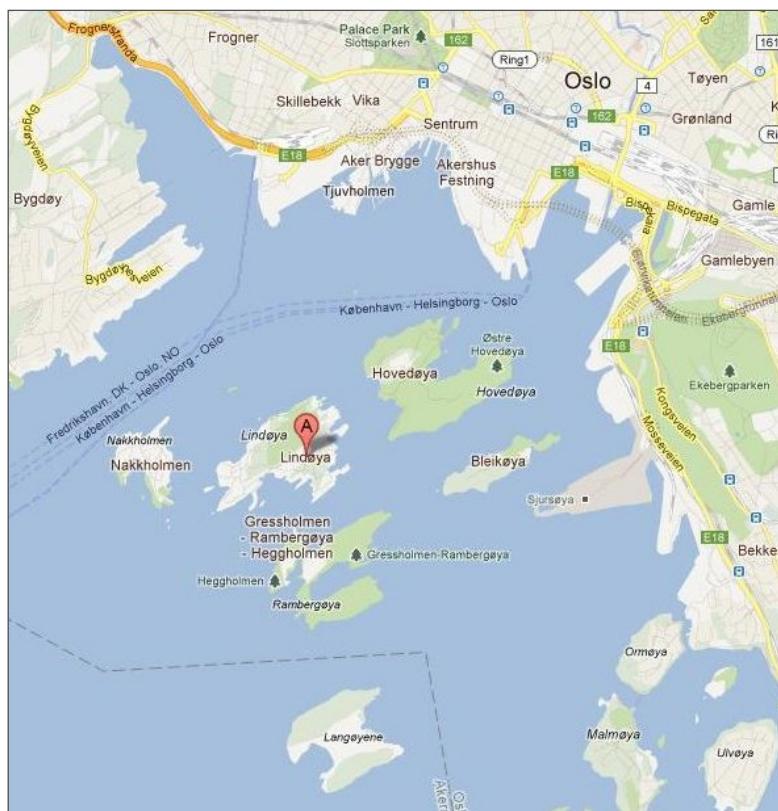
The popularity of Lindøya was a function of the difficulty experienced trying to access any of the other islands in the inner fjord near Oslo. Nakkholmen is the smallest of those islands and lies 15 minutes by motor-boat from the city and half a mile west of Lindøya. The Forestry Directorate of the Agriculture Department managed both islands for the State and in 1904 created new plantations of pine and fir trees on Lindøya's west side and on the open plain of Nakkholmen after which it was forbidden to land on either island to protect the

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<sup>25</sup> The "contemporary face of the future" proposal cost a thousand kroner. The Port Authority wanted to use the Oslo Fjord islands as a pier to relieve the growing volume of freight transport with a bridge and train from the mainland. *Aftenposten* 21.05.09

saplings. Warning signs were duly erected.<sup>26</sup> In thoroughly researched island histories, published to mark significant anniversaries and based on local archive material, there is copious detail about guards on Nakholmen, yet none about security arrangements on Lindøya prior to 1922.

According to the Nakholmen *Vel* 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary publication (1973) a woman called Miss Fritz was employed as a guard and became the police authority. She went about her watch with a revolver, a large police badge clearly visible on the chest and a dog that was “bad with people.” Nils Zapffe whose family had a legal holiday home on the island, recalls that before 1922 *Nakholmen* was a “terra incognita” despite its proximity to Oslo.<sup>27</sup>



**Figure 4.6 Map of Oslo fjord islands**

<sup>26</sup> Mathisen B *Nakholmen Vel 1923-1998* P11 Oslo 1998

<sup>27</sup> Mathisen B *Nakholmen Vel 1923-1998* pp 9-15 Oslo 1998 Zapffe recalls, “The island had three so-called permanent “residents.” Access to Nakholmen for other mortals was strictly prohibited. Sometimes people who were unfamiliar with the arrangement came ashore to make coffee, have some food and rest after a tiring trip on the fjord. But they wouldn’t rest long before the officer was on hand with his four-legged guards, and coffee boiling and thoughts of siesta had gone. The officer would demand names, and in a grim voice, with meaningful side glances at the dogs, tell visitors to remove themselves as soon as possible. Attempts at debate were useless; it was simply a matter of leaving. The state’s island of Nakholmen was forbidden territory.”

Treatment was rather different for the *Christiania Jægerklubb*, (Oslo Shooting Club) whose members practised every Thursday on targets beside *Nakholmen*'s wooded plain. A house was built to serve them refreshments (a luxury the hutters would not be permitted in 1922) and the shooters were transported directly from Oslo in a Holm and Boe boat.<sup>28</sup> Travel arrangements for day-trippers allowed "public holiday" access only and trips to *Nakholmen* were more complicated.<sup>29</sup> Of course, the majority of regular visitors were not reliant on others for transport and had their own rowing boats or 21-foot *snekke* (motorboats). The boats were moored in the Pipervika Boat Association harbour until 1905 when they moved to a harbour below Akershus fortress. But it was one thing to have the freedom to set sail – quite another to have anywhere to land. According to Nils Zapffe:

The charm of the fjord tour was to go ashore on some island or another suitable place, soak up the sun, get a refreshing swim, enjoy a "picnic" and maybe even spend the night. But unfortunately, there were not many such places, at least not in the inner Oslo fjord. The place one envisioned stopping was perhaps already taken ... or maybe the effort only resulted in detecting large, prominent posters that made it known landing was highly prohibited. And then the only option was to stay in the vehicle, a dubious pleasure, if rain or other bad weather began.<sup>30</sup>  
(See footnote 269; page 86)

State-owned *Hovedøya* was similarly out of bounds. After a cholera epidemic in Oslo in 1850, the western-most point of the island was used as a quarantine station for yellow fever, plague, cholera and typhoid. An isolation hospital was built with a little port and immigrants had to stay there for forty days if there were grounds for suspicion. The facility was moved to the new

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<sup>28</sup> ibid P9

<sup>29</sup> Mathisen B *Nakholmen Vel 1923-1998* P22 Oslo 1998 "In 1917 Josef Boe and the Holm family started ferries from Vippetangen (Oslo) to Lindøya. Thus, connections to *Nakholmen* improved as islanders took the boat to Lindøya and went over the island to the peninsula opposite *Nakholmen* where we were rowed across with the noisy huffing and puffing announcing our arrival."

<sup>30</sup> ibid p22

hospital at Ullevål in Oslo during the 1920s.<sup>31</sup> In 1919 a law banned digging on Hovedøya to protect medieval monastic sites. And to cap it all, the island was used as a military base. Civilians were allowed to use the beaches after 1910 but they had to buy a boarding pass and come at certain times of day. From 1914, Oslo *kommune* leased the beach and built an outdoor swimming pool. But when the *kommune* finally managed to buy Hovedøya from the State in 1950 the pool, which had just recorded its eight millionth visitor, was promptly closed. Water quality was by then so bad that distant Langøyene was re-designated the “swimming” island for Oslo. So in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the largest island in Oslo fjord (1km<sup>2</sup>) and the closest to Oslo was a cholera quarantine outpost, a military base and a swimming resort for the masses -- hide-bound with rules and swarming with armed men.<sup>32</sup> Not the ideal destination for those who simply wanted to pitch a tent, experience nature and do as they pleased.

Lindøya’s eastern island neighbour was similarly off putting. Tiny Bleikøya had one of the oldest functioning farms in southern Norway and, after 1885, a sanatorium for children with scrofulous (a form of tuberculosis). The sanatorium which occupied two large villas rented by Oslo *kommune* -- remained in operation until 1926 when it was also moved to the new Oslo hospital – allowing the main building to become the new Bleikøya *Vel* office.<sup>33</sup> Gressholmen, Rambergøya and Heggholmen – each roughly the size of Bleikøya – presented different obstacles to owners of rowing boats or even motorised *snekke*. These naturally conjoined islands, further away from Oslo, were privately owned and patrolled by security guards working for the succession of industrial plants based there. A shipyard was built on Heggholmen in the early 1800s and sold at auction in 1892 to the Heggholmen Chemical Company whose furniture paint business foundered after a year. Oslo Linseed Mill then bought the property and started linseed oil production using a small train to move

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<sup>31</sup> Gjerland, *Oslos øyrike*, p.29.

<sup>32</sup> ibid pp 30-36

<sup>33</sup> Lyngø, *Fritid er sosial sak*, p. 116.

products to and from the harbour.<sup>34</sup> Lilleborg Factories bought the Linseed Mill in 1909, after complaints about the smell of their soap factory in Oslo, and switched production to a purpose-built factory on Heggholmen with workers houses and a school nearby.<sup>35</sup> The factory burned down in 1919. Between 1927 and 1939, the bay between Gressholmen and Heggholmen was used as Norway's first airport (after the proposal to locate on Lindøya was rejected). In 1965 the houses were used as holiday homes for Lilleborg staff before being sold off as individually owned private cottages, which can now be hired by the week.<sup>36</sup> So, the privately-owned industrial islands of Gressholmen, Rambergøya and Heggholmen were also out of bounds for most holidaymakers. Indeed, as Clean Air regulations pushed chemical industries out of central Oslo, other islands became industrial locations. Shell bought Skjareholmen and evicted 30 *hytte* owners from the tiny skerry island in 1954. The hutters' modest wooden cabins had been built from recycled wood in the 1920s but their contracts required Shell to give them just 14 days-notice to quit. When the hutters left, they burned all the huts behind them.<sup>37</sup> The most striking industrial transformation was Langøyene -- two separate islands until rubbish from Oslo was dumped in the wide strait between North and South Langøy to create one conjoined landmass. In the 1890s wealthy citizens had summer houses on North Langøy. Then Oslo *kommune* bought the islands in 1902 from an unsuspecting Nesodden *kommune*. After a cholera epidemic in 1908, Oslo *kommune* had started dumping household waste between the islands in the hope that the material would sink. The current however brought rubbish back into Oslo and onto beaches of the inner fjord islands. The *kommune* then resorted to sinking five ships on the south side of the bay to interrupt the currents.<sup>38</sup> In 1911 rubbish started to show above water and Nesodden *kommune* tried to close down the operation on health grounds after sewerage was dumped there. Oslo

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<sup>34</sup> Gjerland, *Oslos øyrike*, p.58-9.

<sup>35</sup> Tvedt, *Oslo Byleksikon* p. 186.

<sup>36</sup> Gjerland, *Oslos øyrike*, p.58-9.

<sup>37</sup> I.G. Klepp, 'Søndre Skaerholmen – det tapte paradis', in *Badeliv* (Byminner 2) Oslo (1997) p.28.

<sup>38</sup> Gjerland, *Oslos øyrike*, pp. 65-7. Oslo 2006 notes the ships' masts used to stick out at low tide and were blown up when the outdoor swimming pool was constructed lest they remind swimmers of the site's former life as a floating rubbish tip.

*kommune Renholdsverk* (cleaning department) which ran the island, was fined 200 million kroner – but seems to have ignored the fine. North and South Langøy had become one island and dumping went on until 1951.

In 1920 there were 18 houses, 155 inhabitants and a school with 30 pupils in 3 grades on Langøyene. Even when the rubbish arrived, people stayed. Refuse disposal workers lived there all year round, a fish oil factory was set up and a local man grew flowers using the heat generated by the rubbish.<sup>39</sup> But even if the locals could tolerate the stench and the flies, citizens on neighbouring islands could not. In letters to the *Nordstrands Blad* newspaper in 1946, men on the island of Ulvøya complained they could not see the pattern on their carpets or get shaved because mirrors were covered with flies; “We wish that if a nuclear bomb falls, it should be on Langøyene and nowhere else in the world.”<sup>40</sup> Neighbours were happy when the dumping finally stopped and Oslo *kommune* announced it would transform Langøyene into a camping and swimming centre – but the 100-odd remaining residents were summarily evicted and moved to new block housing in the Teisen area of Oslo. A hundred years of habitation on Langøyene ended virtually overnight.<sup>41</sup>

The sudden changes on Langøyene and Sjursøya demonstrated how quickly an island’s character could change when the *kommune* (council) was in charge. During the first two decades of the 20th century, Oslo *kommune* seemed to treat the inner fjord islands as sites for unsavoury civic functions like disease control, oil storage and rubbish disposal. Private owners used the islands for shooting and chemical plants. The state alone seemed interested in protecting island habitats – partly because its landowning functions (forestry and defence) were incompatible with industrial development. Beyond these functions, the state had little use for the islands it possessed – perhaps that is why it leased large sections out to Oslo *kommune*. However, given the generally inaccessible nature of all the other inner fjord islands, why did the State permit public access

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<sup>39</sup> ibid pp. 65-68.

<sup>40</sup> [https://lokalhistoriewiki.no/wiki/Langøyene\\_\(Oslofjorden\)](https://lokalhistoriewiki.no/wiki/Langøyene_(Oslofjorden)) Accessed June 2011

<sup>41</sup> Gjerland, *Oslos øyrike*, pp. 65-7.

to Lindøya? The answer is not documented -- papers relating to this period have been missing from the Riksarkivet (State Archive).<sup>42</sup>

The State could have been making an early attempt at social containment – encouraging the most restless citizenry of Oslo to find a non-revolutionary outlet for their energies on a less visible island than Nakholmen, which was passed every day by tourists arriving in Oslo by steamer and by affluent citizens en route to their own holiday homes on Nesodden. But the explanation could be more straight-forward. Lindøya is hillier and larger than Nakholmen and probably less easy to police. The new forest plantation on Lindøya covered proportionally less land and the island had a long tradition of leisure and sporting use (and the earliest island inn). Furthermore, as islanders today are keen to point out, the State had no time to micromanage Lindøya. It had larger landholdings to run elsewhere (like the whole of Finnmark), not to mention the complex business of establishing a new nation. On the other hand, the Forestry Directorate did somehow find the time to micromanage Nakholmen. Whatever the reasons, by 1918, apart from the bathing facilities at Hovedøya, the only islands where people were permitted to land were Lindøya and Rambergøya, but it was almost twice as far from Akershus Fortress as Lindøya and since rowing boats were the commonest types of boat until the 1920s that put the island beyond reach for most people.<sup>43</sup> In 1918, the military were installed on Rambergøya and after that Lindøya was the only place people could legally go ashore.<sup>44</sup>

The *Akerselvens Båtforening* (Aker River Boat Club) was interested in formalising arrangements on Lindøya. When it was formed in 1918, members' boats were moored at the mouth of the *Akerselva* (Aker River). Congestion there meant the club was forced to move to Hovedøya and then make an agreement to rent moorage at the old (failed) Lindøya seaplane base in 1924. Negotiations started in 1920. Thus, before ferries started running in 1917,

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<sup>42</sup> Archive material was borrowed in 2007 by Statsbygg which took over the administration of the hytte islands from the Agriculture Department in the 1960s.

<sup>43</sup> Lyngø, Fritid er sosial sak, pp. 27-28.

<sup>44</sup> Lyngø, Hyttelivets, p.44.

individually owned boats were needed to access the islands. *Akerselvens Båtforening* (ABF) members mostly lived in blocks of flats in East Oslo. So, it is probable many Lindøya pioneers were also ABF members. At any rate the club's support for *utparsellering* (dividing up) Lindøya contrasts starkly with another, the *Jernbanens Båtforening* (Railworkers' Boat Club) which organised a petition in 1924 to stop the creation of any more *hytte* or villa islands.<sup>45</sup> (See footnote 349 ; page 106).



**Figure 4.61 Boats at Akerselva<sup>46</sup>**

When members of the ABF heard about plans to end access to Lindøya they sent a letter to the Ministry in 1919, identifying the island as the last point of public access to the fjord islands and arguing this should not be closed to the city population on grounds of health and leisure.<sup>47</sup> It was good timing. That very year, the meaning of leisure had become a hotly debated social issue after new

<sup>45</sup> Tvedt, *Oslo Byleksikon* p.106.

<sup>46</sup> O. Houm, Oslo City Museum, 1922

<sup>47</sup> T. Johansen, F. Elvrum, O. Larsen, *Nakholmen Vel 25th Jubileum Oslo 1948*, p.49. "Simple people have long used the islands as a residence during the holidays on average 2 to 4 days a week. It is also very important for us to look forward to having our Sunday trips to the islands. Everywhere else in the fjord the right to land is forbidden because the islands are used for other purposes."

laws were passed in the *Storting* (Norwegian Parliament), which limited the working day to eight hours and gave each worker an entitlement to eight hours daily sleep and eight hours leisure as well. Lindøya was designated as the only publicly accessible island in 1918 and it quickly became overrun.<sup>48</sup> There was neither water nor a toilet on the island. The boat owners brought their own water, but “people gave grim accounts about what the forest was like after they had been” describing Lindøya as a “semi-civilised camping place.”<sup>49</sup> One man recalled that in the years before huts were built, the view of Lindøya was so negative in the newspapers that he could not tell his school friends where he had been for the summer.<sup>50</sup> In 1921 the Health Visitor from Aker Council made a damning indictment of conditions;

It appears in fact that the whole forest is practically a latrine. It was almost impossible to go there. Similarly, there were rubbish heaps everywhere. It would be of great interest, if sanitary measures to compel the individual plot owner could be imposed. Since the state is the owner they must answer for sanitary malpractice if duties are not imposed on the individual plot owner.<sup>51</sup> (See footnote 134; page 250)

Despite all these problems, at no time did the authorities seem to consider evicting the troublesome tent people of Lindøya. The campers generally avoided confrontation and kept away from parts of the island with settlers in private cabins and forbidden forest areas planted in 1904.

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid; “My stepfather had set up a tent (on Rambergøya) and was living in it (during the summer). He had a motorboat in Akerselva and 10 kids and my stepmother. When he went out to Rambergøya to set up the tent in 1920 I guess, he was not allowed to be there. So, they moved the tent and the kids and boat all together, and came to Lindøya.

<sup>49</sup> I.J. Lyngø, Hyttelivets, p.49.

<sup>50</sup> SBED 569 in I.J. Lyngø, Hyttelivets, p54

<sup>51</sup> SBED 568 from State Forests Direktoratet Sakspakke 565 - 585 (Statens øyer i Oslofjorden).



**Figure 4.7 Teltodden (tent valley) with a mix of tents and huts 1920**

Meanwhile, the type of accommodation used on Lindøya was becoming more permanent. A stay in the tent during dry, sunny weather might be pleasant, but Norwegian summers were not always so obliging. An outsider brushing against a wet tent could soak everyone and everything inside. So, people started building *lemmehytte* (jointed cabins), which hung together by means of hooks and were dismantled every autumn. (See Figure 4.7) The base of these cabins was about 2.5 by 3.5 metres and the walls inside were papered with newspaper.<sup>52</sup> Adding “rooms” in adjoining tents, like the kitchen or bedroom tent extended cabins. And once again the move seemed to be tolerated by the authorities. The first *hytte* builder was Andreas Martinsen who had been given permission to stay in a tent during fishing trips. He started making a *lemmehytte* at his home in the city during the winter and took it over in pieces in his motorboat. He set it up, but no one expected it would last long.

One day Forestry Director Jelstrup came along and said, “Have you built a *hytte*?” Martinsen invited the Director to take a peek inside and the two sat talking. Martinsen explained the hut could come down as easily as a tent. When Jelstrup made to leave, he said, “You can leave the cabin up”. The *hytte* was 2x2 metres and 2 metres high.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Lindøya Vel 1997 p14

<sup>53</sup> Mathisen, Nakholmen Vel, p.27

Complaints about behaviour on Lindøya were still pouring in according to Forest Director Sørhus, who took over from Director Jelstrup after the latter's death in 1927 – he had been first a consultant and then Jelstrup's deputy on the islands since 1918.<sup>54</sup> Drink was one of the biggest problems. The authorities suspected the island was an active centre for smugglers trying to break the newly established policy of prohibition. Food shortages and high prices – partly created by maritime blockades of Norway during the war – had prompted a public outcry about wasting precious grain in alcohol production. In 1917, the state imposed a partial prohibition to save food followed by a referendum in 1919 in which the Norwegian people voted for a total ban on all alcoholic spirits.<sup>55</sup> It remained in place until 1926.<sup>56</sup> (See footnote 310 ; page 98). Drink was considered the “curse of the age” by the middle classes who were nonetheless also hostile to the temperance movement. Attitudes towards drink also divided the working classes. By 1900, 150,000 Norwegians had “taken the pledge” of total abstinence while thousands of peasants and day-labourers had their own stills and “drank their prosperity away.”<sup>57</sup> In 1921 prohibition was one of the biggest issues dividing political parties and Lindøya was located in the middle of the smuggling zone. Bootlegging boats were visited by small boats using the island as cover. Indeed, part of Lindøya became known as Dunderdalen (home brew valley and see Figure 4.8).

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<sup>54</sup> ibid ;Direktor Sørhus interviewed in the island joint newspaper *Oy og Vi* (The island and us) 1931 p.30: “The first year I was in the forest office, we got complaints every Monday morning in the warm summer, and more or less harrowing accounts of what had been going on Lindøya from Saturday to Monday, and about how impossible it was for the guard to keep the island in order, prevent trees being destroyed, and meet minimum standards with regard to order and sanitary considerations.”

<sup>55</sup> Stagg, East Norway, p.56; It wasn't the first-time food shortages had dictated such drastic action – in 1740 there were bad harvests and corn exports from Denmark were banned (Denmark then included Norway). This also meant a ban on distilling spirit from corn (there were 5,657 distilleries in Akershus diocese alone.)

<sup>56</sup> Libaek and Stenersen, *A History of Norway*, p.103.

<sup>57</sup> ibid

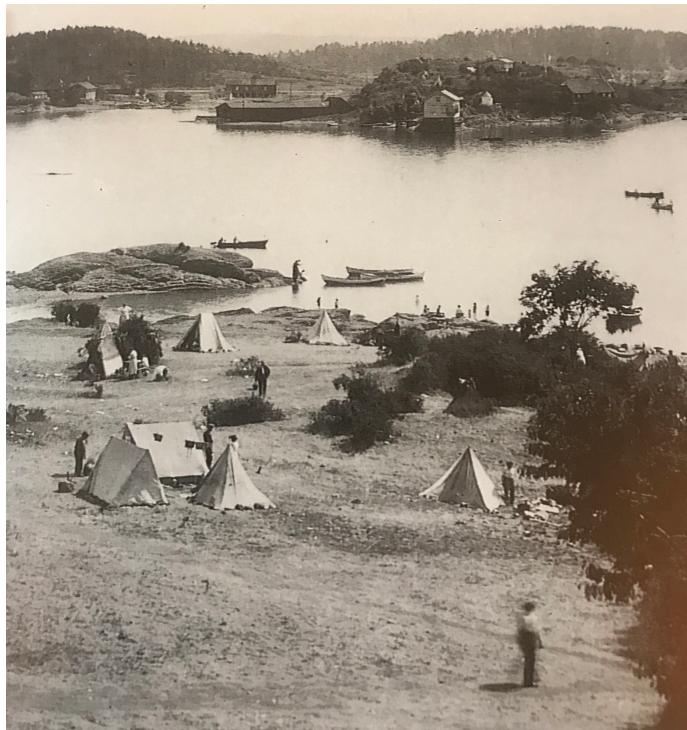


Figure 4.8 Dunderdalen 1921 Lindøya Vel booklet

An historical account given by Lindøya Vel (Welfare Association) suggests complaints about hygiene and drunkenness were not exaggerated, before the island was divided into plots in 1922.<sup>58</sup> After that date the hut owners' enthusiastic devotion to fixing, cleaning and organising island life suggests they wanted to make a distinction between themselves and the earlier *landliggerne* (even though they appear to have been one and the same people) and thereby demonstrate that "decent workers" could be responsible given half a chance and basic services. The lack of water meant hygiene was a big problem. Water had to be obtained from the city or the "monk well" on neighbouring Hovedøya.<sup>59</sup> The private well at the Stamhuset on Lindøya gave water to permanent residents only. *Teltodden* (the tent peninsula) had two toilets where hutters paid the warden to use the facilities. Two refuse collectors emptied the

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<sup>58</sup> <https://www.lindoya.org/historie/hytteutviklingen>; "Some of the first visitors were the city's "less good items", which resulted in complete disarray and disorder. Out here they found a haven where the city's law and order did not rule. Lindøya was a popular destination for "weary workers from Kristiania," and for families who were not well off enough to buy land and build cabins. These people often lived in crowded apartments in the city centre." Accessed Nov 2013

<sup>59</sup> I.J. Lyngø, *Hyttelivets*, pp. 52-55.

WCs at night using a handcart. Material was taken in a rowing boat far out to sea and dropped overboard. Eventually, conditions improved when the state paid for 4 latrine bowls, the handcart disappeared, a horse appeared to help with the "dirt work" and later a tractor. But with temporary tents and huts there could be no permanent hygiene solutions and worries about the hutters' contribution to the poor water quality of inner Oslo fjord was intensifying.<sup>60</sup> The pressure for change was mounting. As Johan Borgen put it; "*Hytte* either had to be removed and the ban on use (of Lindøya) re-introduced or things had to be put in proper working order." Forest Director Kjell Sørhus' account of the dilemma suggests he had already come to a conclusion. Bad behaviour sprang from bad conditions and the makeshift nature of life on Lindøya.

Ever since I came into office Lindøya has been a difficult child. It has been argued that no one should be putting up new homes there. The consequence of the ban has been that decent people are kept away, while all those with questionable existences from the city have taken up residence there and are now building cabins happily enough without permission. I suggest that decent people can put up tents or *lemmehuser* on a part of the island and pay an annual fee of 2-5 kroner per year and commit to remove the house at 2 weeks' notice if it is required.<sup>61</sup>

In 1921, improvements were gradually introduced ahead of the official sub-division into plots, planned by Forest Director Jelstrup for the following spring. Bjorn Mathisen observes that the Department of Agriculture, encouraged by Sørhus, drove the colonisation of the islands long before the Storting was actually informed. Sørhus himself said in an interview in 1928; "The cabin movement shot along at American speed. Before displaying the ads, hundreds of applications were already listed. The Department needed the consent of the Storting, but by then the settlement was already a fact."<sup>62</sup>

Plot owners were allowed to set up homes by paying a fixed fee that would help build sanitary facilities on the island. Hut owners paid 10 kroner,

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<sup>60</sup> I.J. Lyngø, *Hyttelivets*, pp. 55-56

<sup>61</sup> I.J. Lyngø, *Hyttelivets*, p.55.

<sup>62</sup> Mathisen, Nakholmen Vel p.22.

tent owners 5 kroner. The absence of drinking water was thought to be encouraging the wholesale importation of beer – so there was discussion about drilling boreholes for water.<sup>63</sup> Ironically, a final burst of bad behaviour convinced the state that haphazard, organic growth should end – but it was the *Akerselvens Båtforening* who persuaded them a state-sanctioned *hytte* building programme should take its place.

After a midsummer night party the authorities who managed the island banned all landing. In order to remedy the damage, and sail out to Lindøya again, the Aker River Boating Association sent a recommendation to build huts and tents if the authorities wanted peace and quiet. The result was three hundred cabins on Lindøya, two hundred on Nakholmen and a hundred on Bleikøya.<sup>64</sup>

This sequence of events is confirmed in a special commemorative edition of Oslo's civic historic magazine *St Hallvard*.<sup>65</sup> Essentially, the state had only two options. Ban the party people or make them decent. It chose the latter option. Over the winter of 1921-2, the warden, Vaktsjef Erichsen started measuring out plots to be ready for the big influx of people at Easter. Huts would be divided into 6 roder (hut groups) and the inhabitants of each would share responsibility for maintaining order in their patch (there were finally 15 roder). When groups arrived off boats, they would be shown to the southern areas of the island and assigned plots. They would also have to accept safety regulations.<sup>66</sup> So, the troublesome tents were on the way out – in 1931 the remaining 19 tent-dwellers were given permission to build huts on Teltodden thanks to a bequest by the private owner of that grassy peninsula. (See figure 4.7 - page 151) This area contained the plot leased by the grandfather of Anne-Marie (Tutta)

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<sup>63</sup> Lindøya Vel 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary publication p 21 Oslo 1947

<sup>64</sup> B. Alsvik, Friluftslivet i Indre Oslofjord, *Tobias* 2 (1999), Oslo Byarkivet

<sup>65</sup> Lyngø, *St Hallvard*, p. 20; "It was - according to sources from the islands – the then Skogsdirektor who in 1921, following an initiative from the Aker River Båtforening, advocated that people should develop cabins with limitations in the form and use, and under the condition that welfare associations were formed."

<sup>66</sup> SBED 569: Visitors to the island had to keep order and observe conditions of decency. Damage to the island's houses, buildings, plants, or trees is strictly prohibited & will be prosecuted. There has been appointed warden of the island that has been granted police powers. Tents must not be raised without the inspector designating each one a space. Tent pitches must be tidied after use and waste etc. put in the places the inspector directs.

Normann (Chairman of Lindøya Vel 1981-2011). Hilmar Kristiansen had waited a decade for that precise location despite all the hut building going on around him. At long last, the conversion from chaotic tents to orderly huts was complete. But the new arrangements were not generous or long-term. In April 1922, the Department of Agriculture issued "permits" not leases, which gave each cabin owner the right "to erect a summer cottage" from April 1922, but winter use between October and May was expressly forbidden.<sup>67</sup> Each plot was leased for 10 kroner per year and building had to start within one month of the notice being issued. A maximum ground size and height for cabins was given which remained unchanged until the 1980s.<sup>68</sup> The landscape round the house was not to be changed and cabins had to be torn down at a month's notice if the state needed the ground. Flowerbeds should not spread more than 1.5 m from the cabin. Fences were forbidden. The cabins had to be painted dark green, light green or brown, so as not to stand out in the landscape. It was as if the authorities wanted to conceal their surrender to the unruly *landliggerne* as much as possible -- but at long last a small part of Oslo's East End population had its own unique recreational area.<sup>69</sup> The *hytte* building project on Lindøya had solved a number of problems. Still, its extension to neighbouring islands came as a complete surprise.

A few months after permits were issued to build huts on Lindøya, Forest Direktør Jelstrup proposed that Nakkholmen and Bleikøya should also be subdivided into cabin sites, with a statement, "cunningly placed as part of the State Budget in 1923"; "Nakkholmen will be opened for summer cottage development to the same extent that has been done on Lindøya, provided there is no objection on the part of the Storting."<sup>70</sup> Jelstrup's proposal aroused considerable

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<sup>67</sup> Lindøya Vel 1997

<sup>68</sup> Huts could be no more than 25 square meters for a two-storey house and 35 meters square for a single storey house. The height to the roof ridge was to be 4.8 meters and 3.6 meters respectively

<sup>69</sup> Warnings about the official terms & conditions were posted all over the island declaring, "In a letter dated May 24<sup>th</sup> 1924 we hereby inform hut owners that living in the huts between October and May is forbidden and if this regulation is not observed, you will forfeit your application to live on Lindøya. There were also regulations which said you must never put rubbish in the sea or you will be punished, citing 1894 public health regulations. Ironically the commune was breaking the regulation itself by dumping rubbish in the sea at Langøyene". Lindøya Vel 1997

<sup>70</sup> Mathisen, Nakkholmen Vel p.22

resistance but the proposal was adopted and at Easter in 1923 the eastern part of Nakholmen was turned into plots organised into six roder.<sup>71</sup> Perhaps Nakholmen had already been earmarked for hut development - in 1919 a consortium wanted to buy the island as a summer resort for the more affluent inhabitants of Oslo. The bid was rejected.<sup>72</sup> According to Oddmund Østebø, current leader of Nakholmen *Vel*, Jelstrup simply wanted to get ahead of the next inevitable "landgrab" to make sure huts were built in rows like streets and laid out in an orderly manner to reduce complaints about the scattered and untidy appearance of Lindøya.<sup>73</sup> But why was another land-grab considered inevitable? For one thing, the conversion from tents to huts had been a success, achieving the state's primary avowed aim of creating order on Lindøya. In his account of the transition Director Sørhus said;

There are few things I have been dealing with since I came 12 years ago as deputy director, which have given so much pleasure as the enterprise on these islands. It has been more successful than we dared hope for. It is a pleasure to see how nice the houses look with flowers etc [and] gratifying to see how much improvement there has been since the cottage settlement came.<sup>74</sup>

The *hytte* owners were evidently grateful for the opportunity they had been given.<sup>75</sup> Public opinion also seemed mollified by the transition from tents to huts -- at first. A contemporary account in *Morgenbladet* reported Jelstrup's view that expansion to Bleikøya was now inevitable and observed merely that lessons should be learned from Lindøya.

The completely indiscriminate and random settlement of Lindøya does not really decorate the entrance to Christiania. Should the

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<sup>71</sup> Nakholmen *Vel* 25<sup>th</sup> Jubileum Publications, (1948) Oslo

<sup>72</sup> Lyngø, Fritid er sosial sak, p.127.

<sup>73</sup> Semi structured interview with Oddmund Ostebø, June 2013

<sup>74</sup> Mathisen Nakholmen *Vel*, p.112.

<sup>75</sup> Nakholmen *Vel* 1948, p.19; Among the authorities there were fortunately men with the necessary authority to understand what it meant that adults and children, had the opportunity to enjoy their leisure time in the fresh air and free nature during the summer months, in a relatively easy manner - away from the dust and noise and perhaps poor housing conditions.

Ministry also allow the creation of a summer colony on Bleikøya it is obviously necessary that the settlement is carefully planned and regulated in advance, and that you also have uniform house types.<sup>76</sup>

Usefully for the authorities, the newspaper accepted their argument that the “utparsellering” was a generous gesture – not capitulation to a land grab.

It must be remembered that there is a humanitarian initiative going on here. With very little funding a healthy and cheap summer residence by the sea has been obtained on Lindøya for hundreds of East End residents. This is more important for the health of the whole society and common people than all the words, phrases and immature plans that come forth at every opportunity, from those who call themselves friends of the common folk.<sup>77</sup>

Secondly, a proactive decision would let the government get ahead of events on the other islands and let them choose who became new *hytte* owners there. According to former Vel Chairman Tutta Normann: “The first hut sites on Lindøya could only be given to people who had already been there in tents. But on Nakholmen and Bleikøya the state began with a clean sheet.” Plots were advertised in Oslo newspapers – though the first huts were probably secured by word of mouth contact with Lindøya hatters at workplaces in east Oslo. The hut plots were assigned by lottery ticket – often after an interview with the *vaktsjef* (duty officer) on Nakholmen. This time the authorities were anxious to weed out undesirable elements from the start. By comparison with Lindøya, the layout of Nakholmen was more formal in “street-like” straight lines. There was greater uniformity in housing type compared to the “mottled tangle” of Lindøya. And on Nakholmen no tents were allowed.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> *Morgenbladet* 31.7.1922: The forest manager said perfect order existed on the island. The island was divided into Roder, each with a rode champion with police powers. The duty officer was Kjøbmand Eriksen, who lived up on top in the north, from where he had the best view and also kept excellent order throughout the colony. The Forest Director stated that now presumably the lease out of land on Bleikøya would proceed.

<sup>77</sup> *ibid*

<sup>78</sup> I.J. Lyngø, *Hyttelivets*, p. 44.

Not everyone welcomed *utparsellering* (parcelling up plots) on the islands. The first major challenge came from the Chief of Police in Aker *Kommune* who opposed the hut building because he thought this would give the green light for people to “build colonies of houses that do not meet the requirements of the Building Commission.” He argued the Commission should be extra vigilant about standards in “busy construction times like these” and complained about people “setting up unlawful houses everywhere.<sup>79</sup> There was fierce criticism of the huts’ visual impact on the sail into Oslo from newspapers like *Tidens Tegn*.<sup>80</sup> Oslo’s Mayor, Jacob Wilhelm Rode Heiberg went further commenting; “We find these “Congo villages” spoil the whole experience of sailing into Kristiania – they are really an act of vandalism.”<sup>81</sup> This concern about the aesthetic appearance of the huts may seem odd given the appalling nature of housing in the parts of Oslo from which the hutters were trying to escape. But the two may have been related. The habit of the Norwegian middle classes was to escape the sights and smells of the city whenever possible; to the fjell (forests) for walking and skiing in winter and to the fjord for sailing in summer. The sight of the pure and unadulterated fjord and its undeveloped islands was, for many, their compensation for life in the “un-natural” city.<sup>82</sup> And besides, middle class Norwegians did a lot more than just gaze at the fjord. Rowing clubs began in 1878 and by 1939 there were seven. Sailing in Norway also began in Oslo fjord – the largest union was the Royal Norwegian Yacht Club. The worker’s motorboats arrived in 1891 (disparagingly described as “sea fleas” and “sea worms”), but were only common after 1905 – the date of the first landings on Lindøya. According to the architect Eyvind Alnæs, a prime mover in

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<sup>79</sup> The Chief of Police concluded a letter to the Forest Director thus; permanent housing out there (on the islands) will probably come to cause the State and all the authorities many difficulties.

Lyngø (1991), p. 58

<sup>80</sup> *Tidens Tegn* 1922; “Instead of meeting with beautiful un-spoilt nature, now people on the steamer float into our once proud fjord surrounded by huts painted in a rainbow of terrible colours.”

<sup>81</sup> *Social Demokraten* magazine 31.7.1922

<sup>82</sup> Witoszek, Regime of Goodness, pp 78-80; In the eyes of many shepherds of the nation, the city was the site of the mob, alienation, wealth, capitalism, bureaucracy, centralisation, organised seduction, noise, traffic and foreigners who wanted to impose control. The effect of their anti-urban propaganda was that in the nineteenth century the city was morally expelled from Norway. In fact, it was not part of Norway at all, but a displaced fragment of Denmark or Europe.

the *Oslofjordens Friluftsråd* (Oslofjord Outdoor Recreation Society) this vibrant use of the fjord was "a reaction to backyard-Oslo ... a force of nature breaking free".<sup>83</sup> Although there were objections to the visual intrusion of the island huts, the coastline was already covered with large summer villas and bathhouses lining Bekkelaget and Bygdøy, the islands of Ulvøya and Malmøya and parts of Nesoddlandet. In the 1870-80s every other house was unoccupied during the winter.<sup>84</sup> Tempting, as it was, to accuse critics of hypocrisy, the newly-established Lindøya *Vel* developed a clever public relations strategy instead. Together with the Forest Director they invited the man who described their huts as "Congo villages" for a visit. The bold move was a great success. A joint press release sent out afterwards said;

Mayor Heiberg visited the summer huts on Lindøya and he expressed praise for what had been accomplished. The Chief of Police at Aker and the Health Authorities also praised conditions this summer.<sup>85</sup>

The islanders had won over their sternest municipal critics – but though they won the battle over the Oslo *hytte* islands, they lost the wider hutting war. The same year Nakholmen and Bleikøya were divided up, (1923) Asker and Oslo *kommune* bought Langåra for 120,000 kroner to prevent a similar explosion of individual, private hut building there. Instead the councils turned the island -- half an hour by boat from Oslo -- into a public area for tents and *lemmehytte* (the temporary huts which had to be dismantled at the end of each summer season). Several thousand people used the island every summer but no permanent huts were ever allowed. In 1993 Asker municipality finally banned *lemmehytte* because they made "too much claim on a public recreational area." Since then it has only been possible for visitors to stay in tents, for two nights at a time.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> Kjeldstadli, *Den delte byen*, p.431. Eyvind Anæs was a leading light in *Oslofjordens Friluftsråd* (the Oslofjord Outdoor Recreation Association)

<sup>84</sup> ibid p36

<sup>85</sup> Lyngø, *Hyttelivets*, p.60. The joint press release continued; "These good results have happened because the first Vaktsjef on the islands, the merchant J.E Erichsen put a huge amount of work into the hut building programme. As recognition for his work, the Forest Direktor gave him an inscribed silver bowl from the Ministry of Agriculture." SBED 567

<sup>86</sup> C.S. Rolland, *Langåra – et sommerparadis i Oslofjorden*, (Oslo: Oslo University, 2006)



**Figure 4.9 Lindøya huts 2011**

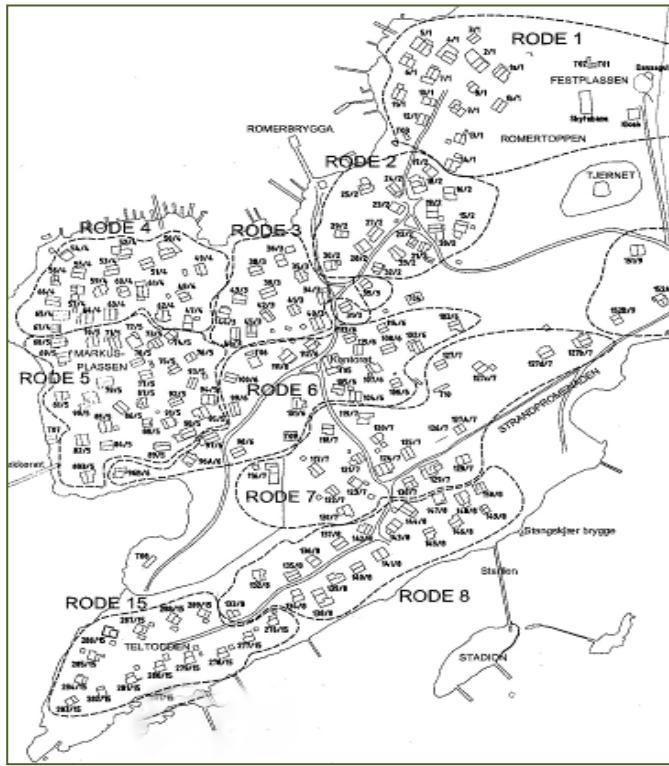
Given the very limited nature of holiday options on other islands in Oslo fjord, the *landliggerne* knew they faced a constant battle with public opinion to keep their huts on Lindøya. Their strategy of engaging with critics culminated in a massive press conference and island tour in 1922, which prompted writers like Johan Borgen to write influential and strongly supportive magazine articles.<sup>87</sup> During those tours, visitors were told how the islanders' own efforts at internal organisation helped maintain those all-important standards of order and decency. The Lindøya *Vel* (Welfare Organisation) was the hub around which everything else turned. Formed at a meeting of all new hut owners in July 1922, the *vel* was a fairly common structure for managing voluntary organisations at the time –the *Akerselvens Båtforening* was run by a *vel* and suggested precisely the same organisational structure for the hutting community on Lindøya in its 1921 letter to the Forest Director.<sup>88</sup> The first Directors were elected at that July 1922 meeting and immediately helped channel communication between hutters and the authorities – they collected rent and created regulations governing hedge height, rubbish collection, water supply and social activities.<sup>89</sup> As the

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<sup>87</sup> I.J. Lyngø, *Hyttelivets*, pp. 59-60.

<sup>88</sup> ibid p61

<sup>89</sup> I.G. Klepp, *En Stat i solen* (PhD diss, Oslo 1990) pp. 105-6.



**Figure 4.10 Lindøya; Roder & house numbers**

islanders' mini-parliament, the Vel was keen to nip trouble in the bud and present a united front to all outside authorities. Vel officials spent years persuading Oslo *kommune* to supply water and electricity. The long list of sub committees gives a snapshot of the blizzard of voluntary activity undertaken by many islanders.<sup>90</sup> Conscious that tracks and paths had to be built between all 300 huts, the newly formed Vel delegated work to the 15 *røder* (small

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<sup>90</sup> After 20 years campaigning, electricity and water finally arrived on Lindøya in 1954 & 1960, respectively. Sub committees in 1973 included; 1. Price Committee -- audit of the shops pricing. 2. Building Committee – control of repairs. 3. Working Committee – maintenance work imposed by the Vel Board. 4. Light Committee – measuring power consumption per cabin and total consumption. 5. Water Committee — opening and closing water supplies in the spring and fall, and maintaining pipelines and public toilets. 6. Supervisory Committee — overseeing hedge height and width, and ensuring trees that might be a danger to the mains are notified to the nearest *rodemester* to ensure removal. 7. Electricity Committee – troubleshooting at the island substation. 8. Traffic-Committee – liaison between the ferry company and islanders. 9. Tractor committee – maintenance and use. 10. Colour Committee – ensuring cabins are painted according to the agreed colour plan. <https://www.lindoya.org/historie/øyas-administrasjon/> Accessed November 2013

neighbourhoods) (Figure 4.1) with 8-10 huts apiece, and stipulated that the job of *rodemester* be rotated annually amongst members.<sup>91</sup>

The military-like structure and highly delegated organisation impressed all those who made early visits to Lindøya. Contemporary commentators like Johan Borgen observed that something revolutionary, pioneering and genuinely socialist was happening on Lindøya through self-discipline and camaraderie. His vivid descriptions of life on Lindøya had considerable impact in Oslo – especially since few citizens took up the islanders' invitation to come and witness the “social experiment” first-hand.<sup>92</sup> The author's articles also made powerful emotional connections between the new settlers of Lindøya and the pristine romantic wilderness of the High North.

This was a landscape where force was an unknown phenomenon.  
This was the first socialist state. Here there was no speculation  
with property...This is more than an idyll. This is a social and  
aesthetic initiative that has succeeded to perfection.<sup>93</sup>

Contemporary writers suggest reality was less than idyllic because “some guard commanders became little Kings” and Lindøya may have appeared like a “socialist state” simply because the huts were closely packed together and fences were nowhere to be seen.<sup>94</sup> But Borgen was more interested in the way human values shaped island life, in contrast with the technology and technical innovation that dominated the city.<sup>95</sup> The islanders were allowed to build bathing areas, diving boards and small piers, a small sports arena and a football ground -- but not a dance floor, village hall or restaurant. Sport was an integral part of “decency” but socialising evidently was not. The ghost of “Party Island” had not yet been laid to rest. A joint hutting islands' newspaper *Øy og vi* (The

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<sup>91</sup> ibid

<sup>92</sup> ibid

<sup>93</sup> Borgen, St Hallvard, p.13. “Here there was no speculation with property. Sales were straightforward though very few came on the market (and) the spectre of unemployment forced (some) to divorce from their hytte.”

<sup>94</sup> Klepp I.G. Hytta som leilighetens mannlige anneks p94 in *Den mangfoldige fritiden*: Klepp A & Thorsen L.E eds Oslo 1993

<sup>95</sup> Ibid: “Technology is so impressive we think it is master and we are servants. But on the islands, we reconnect with humanity, even if there is always the threat of an architect springing out from town with concrete-filled plans which could knock human life out of existence here.”

island and us) began in 1928 and in 1929 a joint Vel between the three islands was formed. The *Fellestyret* (steering committee) took on a public relations role, arranging yet more visits by journalists and civic dignitaries. A women's association was formed in 1925, a Youth organisation in 1927 and Nakholmen soon followed with much the same range of activities.<sup>96</sup> Since the 1920s dozens of societies have been formed, fallen into abeyance and re-formed. Island life has always been participatory and highly structured. Lindøya *Vel* joined the newly formed *Oslofjordens friluftsråd* (Society for Outdoor Living in Oslo Fjord) in 1933 -- another clever move. Although the Society opposed plot subdivision on other islands in Oslo fjord to protect public access rights, it was persuaded not to campaign against the existing huts on Lindøya, Bleikøya and Nakholmen.<sup>97</sup>

But despite the islanders' success at rebutting early threats to their summer huts, there were few signs that the "social experiment" would last. The islanders' great protectors in the Forestry Directorate retired, permits were not converted into formal leases and were never renewed for longer than a year at a time. Since many hut owners also rented their flats in Oslo city, they owned no assets against which they could borrow. So, living conditions were very basic and it took decades for standard amenities to be fitted. As Anne Marie Normann put it; "Our parents and grandparents lived with the constant fear of eviction until 1981." How then did the islanders keep the spectre of redevelopment at bay? Tensions naturally developed over the effective removal of three islands from civic planning and control. Campaigners from all sides of the political divide were organising to open up the beaches, fjords and forest Marka. And yet, three islands existed that could neither be opened up for universal access nor closed down for industrial development. It is testimony to the organisation and persuasive skills of the islanders that not a single alternative use for Lindøya,

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<sup>96</sup> The biggest association is currently the mini-golf club. The Bridge club has been started and closed twice. It opened in 1947, closed in 1960, was revived in 1972 and closed in 1995.

<https://www.lindoya.org/historie/hytteutviklingen/> Accessed November 2013

<sup>97</sup> Kjeldstadli, *Den delte byen*, pp. 430-431.

Nakholmen and Bleikøya got the go-ahead over half a century. Though many, many tried.

The first of many alternative land-use proposals to be defeated was an open-air swimming pool in 1923. A letter to the government from the newly created Lindøya Vel claimed the huts would be demolished if the swimming pool went ahead. So, the pool was built on Hovedøya instead. In 1932, a version of the earlier Freeport was proposed at Oslo Chamber of Commerce, using Hovedøya, Lindøya, Nakholmen and the other fjord islands to extend Oslo's industrial base.<sup>98</sup> Oskar Syvertsen – the first editor of the islands' newspaper – opposed the proposal by arguing that townspeople had come to view Lindøya as a nature reserve and that any other use for such a beautiful island would be "offensive" and prompt memories of the destruction on Sjursøya.<sup>99</sup> But the *kommune* was serious about the plan and once again, purchase of the islands from the state was suggested.<sup>100</sup> The biggest newspapers lined up on opposing sides with the best-selling daily *Tidens Tegn* for and the "quality" daily *Aftenposten* against the Freeport development.<sup>101</sup> *Oy og vi* commented; "No political party in Oslo would dare take responsibility for the destruction of the islands in this way." Within a year the plan had been shelved. Wartime brought development to a halt, but soon, city planners had the islands in their sights again. According to the Planning Chief for Oslo there should be a new, ambitious plan for the entire inner Oslo fjord;

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<sup>98</sup> <https://www.lindoya.org/historie/hytteutviklingen/> Accessed November 2013

<sup>99</sup> Syvertsen O. "Oy og vi" (1932) in Harrong O. Zapffe N. *Nakholmen 50th anniversary* Oslo 1973 pp52-4; These plans to vandalise the fjord's most beautiful islands with factory construction will quite certainly be met with a storm of protest – not just by those who spend summertime there but also by the vast majority of Oslo people. It should be enough that Sjursøya was taken. There are plots & land in abundance, within and outside the city limits.

<sup>100</sup> ibid. Syvertsen says the Defence Department priced the hytte islands in 1911 at 700k Kroner. In 1921 the price was 1,865k kroner, and by 1932, probably 4.7 million kroner. The kommune clearly felt that every year it waited to secure the islands the value kept rising steadily.

<sup>101</sup> *Tidens Tegn* 1932; "We have east Aker, we have Sjursøya, we have plots around Skøyen, and spaces designated as industrial areas. But none lies centrally. We are short of large commercial and warehouse stores and the island project is aimed at precisely this kind of company." Gunnar Dahl, *Aftenposten* 1932; "Oslo is a seaside town but people are cut off from the sea. See how difficult it is to access bathing spots precisely because the city fathers haven't been keeping an eye on the impact of their decisions. Dividing land into plots on Bygdøy has gone overboard. How would it be if industrial companies located on all our islands? There is a demand amongst the people to have a place of work but there is another demand -- a place in the sun."

Industry must not be stuck inside narrow sites by piers and quays, but grow into a space beyond. Gressholmen, Rambergøya and Heggholmen are fit for future industry. It will be harder with Lindøya, Nakholmen and Bleikøya. These islands are undeveloped, but sooner or later they will have to be drawn into the picture.<sup>102</sup>

A decade later the “new ambitious plan” finally arrived in the shape of a fjord-based international airport. According to Aftenposten in November 1960 the *kommune* was actively considering plans to build the main runway on top of Gressholmen, Rambergøya, Langøyene and Husbergøya. The islands would be levelled down to a height of 2 meters above sea level for the purpose and Lindøya would become a large car-park, providing a natural screen against the sight and sound of the aircraft in Oslo. All the *hytte* would have to go.<sup>103</sup> Figure 4.12 shows the 3000m planned runway running south from Lindøya over neighbouring islands.<sup>104</sup> The plan was so ambitious it would require the creation of a new joint financing authority composed of Oslo, Bærum, Nesodden municipalities and Akershus county. The cost was estimated at 14 million kroner.<sup>105</sup> After a year of consideration, the plan was abandoned and finally a new international airport was built (amidst much controversy) on a green field site at Gardermoen.

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<sup>102</sup> Øy og vi (1949) via <https://www.lindoya.org/historie/hytteutviklingen/>

<sup>103</sup> Aftenposten 15 November 1960; “This supplement to Fornebu (airport) will be a large airport with port facilities, industrial land, bus terminal, business centre, hotel and car parking for 2,000 cars. The fjord islands of Gressholmen, Rambergøya, Langøyene og Husbergøya, would be cut down to 2 meters above sea level to make room for the runway, 3,000 m long and 150 m wide. One condition of the plan, was to leave Lindøya as an outdoor area and carpark. The hytte settlement must be removed, but the island would still be the city's most valuable "lungs" in the summer. By leaving the island "untapped", it will be a "screen" for noise. You will then not be able to see the new airport.”

<sup>104</sup> ibid. The dotted lines are four proposed underwater tunnels to distribute traffic, to and from the new harbour area and airport but also across to the peninsula of Nesodden.

<sup>105</sup> ibid; “An optimistic trio – all working in the building industry - presented the bold plan for a brand new aircraft and port centre in Oslo..... within an area that today is essentially uninhabited and which, according to the authors, cannot be utilized in a better way, especially because the plan also includes a radical solution to Oslo's biggest traffic problems. Underwater tunnels will not only provide good access from the new airport, but will also provide a through flow of traffic from west to east linking the Nesodden peninsula directly to main arterial roads in the Oslo area”

In 1967, seven years after the airport plan was seen off, another port redevelopment was proposed complete with bridges, tunnels, and a Tivoli Gardens in the style of rival Nordic capitals Copenhagen and Stockholm. Once again it involved the removal of all huts in Lindøya and Nakholmen.<sup>106</sup> This was



Figure 4.11 Islands in Oslo Fjord with proposed airport and docks

also rejected. Once 40-year leases were handed out to *hytte* owners in 1981, it was clear the islanders had finally seen off every challenge and alternative use for the fjord islands. Since then the *kommune's* energy has been devoted to strict enforcement of rules about *hytte* renovation (regarded as red tape hampering sensible improvement by islanders) and making *hytte* owners remove sheds, hammocks and flower-pots which make public areas round the huts look private. But islanders have become highly skilled in getting the best of both worlds – as the low level of rents paid since 1922 demonstrates.<sup>107</sup> Despite

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<sup>106</sup> Aftenposten 21.10.67; The proposed harbour facility would be large enough to operate merchant ships of any magnitude, on an industrial plant with a capacity for ship building and repair, oil facilities and port silos. The connection to the city would be established by a tunnel from Castle Square at Vippetangen to Hovedøya, with bridges to Lindøya and Nakholmen so these islands could evolve into a giant outdoor activity area for the whole of Oslo City, like the Djurgården of Stockholm or the Tivoli Gardens in Copenhagen.

<sup>107</sup> Klepp, En Stat i solen, pp.36-50; The original rent of 10 kroner per cabin was raised to 50 kroner in 1957, 100 kroner in 1971 and 1000 kroner in 1981 when 40-year leases effectively gave permanent status to the huts.

hourly ferry sailings during the summer, many Oslo people still feel the homely nature of the cabins and the easy familiarity within each hutting community combine to exclude them. It is easier for the general public to go swimming on Hovedøya or camp on the only island where tents are permitted – the former “Garbage Island” of Langøyene. Almost the only challenge the *hytte* islanders now face is themselves. In the “old days” inheritance problems were resolved by the brother or sisters most likely to use the *hytte* buying the other siblings out.<sup>108</sup> Since *hytte* prices have rocketed to several million kroner, “sibling buyout” is often impossible. So, the *hytte* must be shared and that can be hard – the season for legal occupation lasts just 20 weeks and the tiny cabins often have only one bedroom. If one sibling wants to cash in on the present high property prices, even a *hytte* owned by a long-established island “dynasty” may have to be sold to keep the family peace. In this way the “East Side” character of the *hytte* colony is being steadily diluted. Now that the “old enemy” of the *kommune* has been defeated, the future of Lindøya depends on whether hutters can resist the temptation to sell to the highest bidder. It also depends on the outlook of *Statsbygg* – the government department that has run Lindøya since 1962. In a document on its website in 2006 about the future of the three islands, the department explains the following;

The purpose of taking over the islands (from the Dept of Agriculture in 1962) was to use them as part of a *makeskifte* (real estate exchange) with Oslo Municipality [the city council]. This *makeskifte* came to nothing, and administration stayed with Statsbygg.<sup>109</sup>

Alarmingly for the islanders, it seems Statsbygg was considering selling the islands to Oslo kommune, or sale on the open market. But though law changes in

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<sup>108</sup> Semi-structured interview 2011; Tutta Normann explained she took over the *hytte* directly from her grandfather Hilmar in 1982. She paid 50 k NOK (roughly £5000) split four ways (Hilmar, herself and her two sisters Eva and Reidun.)

<sup>109</sup> <https://www.lindoya.org/historie/historier-og-hendelser/> Accessed April 2016

2011 made outright purchase of leases possible, only 13 islanders have opted to buy.<sup>110</sup>



**Figure 4.12 Hilmar and Maria Kristiansen**

Since Oslo *kommune* is no longer interested in purchase and since all levels of government past and present have made public access to beach areas a priority, the *Statsbygg* document concludes that the government (rather than individuals) should remain the owner. Perhaps it is foolhardy for islanders to ignore such an opportunity to own their cabins. The next possible redemption date is 2021. Clearly though, the *landliggerne*'s descendants believe it is now politically impossible for any arm of government to dislodge them. History suggests they may be right.

Tutta Normann's own grandfather, Hilmar Kristiansen, is an interesting case in point. He was wealthy enough to have his cabin built by a carpenter but lived in working class Grünerløkka in a flat with one bedroom.<sup>111</sup> Hilmar was the son of Fritz Albert Kristiansen who moved into Oslo from a tiny village in the Nordmarka, 20 kms north of Oslo in 1866, after his elder brother inherited their father's farm. Fritz Albert got a job in Oslo collecting rubbish, married and died young from TB. Hilmar was one of four sons, got a good job as a coppersmith and married Maria who was a tailor. (Fig 4.13) The couple had two incomes and only two children (4 or 5 was the norm); Leif (Tutta's dad) and Synnøva her

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<sup>110</sup> <https://www.statsbygg.no/Nytt-fra-Statsbygg/Nyheter/2012/13-tomter-i-Oslofjorden-solgt/>  
Accessed June 2016 The Land Regulations Act 2011 states that those leasing land for holiday homes should have a right to buy after 30 years at 40% of the plot's commercial value.

<sup>111</sup> Semi-structured interview 2011 with Tutta Normann

aunt. Hilmar's pride and joy was a small rowing boat, which he kept in the Akerselva River, 200 metres from his own flat in Markveien. Tutta believes he first saw Lindøya and the tents at Telttoddern on the east of the island, while he was out rowing. She's very proud of the fact her grandfather's hut is the only one on Lindøya not to need rebuilding since 1932 – Hilmar had enough money to use good wood and hire a carpenter. In Tutta's recollection Hilmar was not a Labour or trade union activist though he was a Labour Party member.<sup>112</sup> Tutta has a cousin with a hut in the same *rode* and her daughter married a man with a family hut in the neighbouring *rode*.

Liv Vargmo is part of the Bergum clan who came to Lindøya with 13 children in 1915.<sup>113</sup> Their history supports the notion that families with children were given priority in *hytte* allocation. But once again, Liv's grandparents were not the poorest in Oslo. Gullbrand Bergum had a thriving second-hand goods business, a rowing boat, and was a member of the *Akerselvens Båtforening Vel* – when he first rowed over in 1916, he stayed in a tent. Liv's father Svein Birger Bergum, born in 1910, was a toolmaker and had a firm employing 7 people. Liv's husband Bjorn comes from Nakholmen and her mother's family also have 2 *hytte* on Lindøya. Amongst Gullbrand's eighteen grandchildren all but one has access to an island *hytte* today.

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<sup>112</sup> ibid

<sup>113</sup> Liv's grandfather Gullbrand Bergum Johannessen lived with wife Hilda in Grønland, E. Oslo

NAMES	CHILDREN	HYTTE on Lindøya unless stated otherwise
Gudmund	2	1 (on Nakholmen and it is sold)
Gearg	4	1
Rakel	1	1
Elsa	1	1
Helgie	2	1 (from Svein)
Kåre	0	1 (Gullbrand's own hytte)
Viggo	1	1 (on Nakholmen)
Marit	2	1 (got hytte from Kåre)
Svein	2 (Liv's dad)	1
Åse	0	0
Inger	2	1
Hildun	1	1
Total today		8 hytte on Lindøya and 2 on Nakholmen

Source; Interview with Liv Vargmo 2011

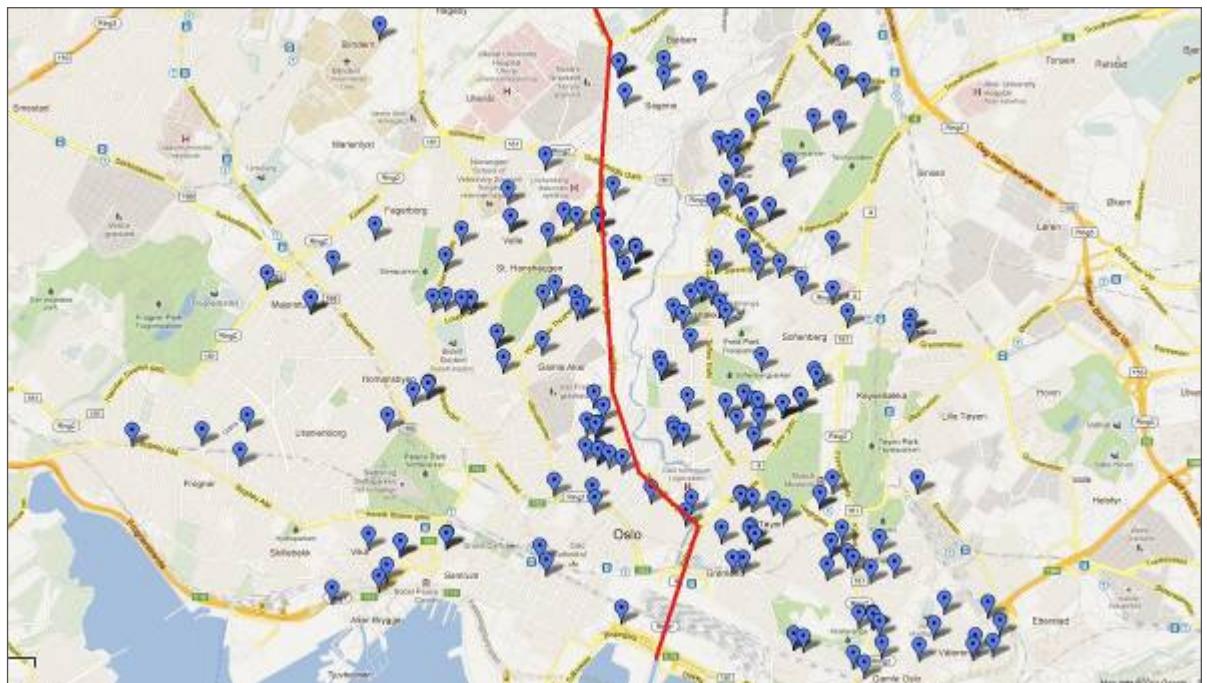
The archives on Lindøya contain a list of original inhabitants and addresses but not occupations. Previous researchers did not gain access to this list – since it also reveals financial, personal and legal details of plot ownership over 80 years perhaps islanders have been reluctant to open the archive to strangers. But huts on Lindøya appear to have been distributed just as much on the basis of near dynastic family connection as on the basis of pure “social need.” The *utparselling* of Nakholmen allowed the state to be more selective since there were no troublesome tent-dwellers to deal with – almost all 189 plots were awarded to applicants screened and vetted by Forest Director Jelstrup. So, who did he choose? Johan Borgen helped create the myth of a social experiment on the islands, but he also helped explode it – or at least characterise more carefully the nature of the experiment taking place. In his influential 1933 *St Hallvard* article he observes about Nakholmen;

Huts are the same size, and one can't tell this is wholesale dealer Olsen's castle by its appearance or that this one belongs to the general consul for Liechtenstein or by Professor Hansen's place that he is a professor. University Secretary Wøllner clearly didn't build his own *hytte* on Nakholmen. Workers, civil servants, office workers – all types of humanity are here together with families who would have difficulty finding a place in the countryside.<sup>114</sup>

Civil servants and office workers – not to mention the very real University Secretary Wøllner -- are hardly Oslo's poorest inhabitants. But perhaps this is the very point. Perhaps the varied social background of the Nakholmen hutters **was** the social experiment. The 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary publication of Nakholmen *Vel* contains a list of *hytte* owners in 1947 and is likely to contain a very high proportion of the original settlers. The Oslo homes of the 1948 Nakholmen owners are plotted in Figure 4.14. Using Uelandsgata as a rough dividing line between Østkanten and Vestkanten (the working-class east side and more affluent west side of Oslo), it is clear that Nakholmen hutters came from every part of Oslo and around 36% lived in the generally richer western half of Oslo *kommune*.

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<sup>114</sup> Borgen, St Hallvard, p.13



**Figure 4.13 Distribution of Nakholmen hytte owners primary Oslo residences in 1948**

This does not square with the prevailing myth about the poverty of original island hut owners – though the data is not sufficiently detailed to draw firm conclusions. It is also true that Lindøya's original residents (who were not hand-picked by the State) probably differed from the profile of Nakholmen and Bleikøya's hutting pioneers. But this exercise does suggest a mixture of classes was consciously created on Nakholmen (since every hut owner was chosen by the state) so that a social experiment was conducted between 1922-23 – but not only with the poorest workers in Oslo. (See footnote 47; page 16). Croll comments that during the inter-war period in Britain, “many of the popular cultural pursuits that so upset civilised middle-class opinion, were pastimes enjoyed exclusively by members of the working class.”<sup>115</sup> Perhaps, since the landliggerne couldn't be evicted or stopped from building huts on islands, the authorities decided to end working class exclusivity in the only way that remained to them. They encouraged professionals to build as well on the hutting islands.

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<sup>115</sup> A. Croll, Street disorder surveillance and shame; Regulating behaviour of public spaces in the late Victorian town. *Social History* 24 (1999), p.268.

## Chapter Five – Other hutting communities in Norway

Lindøya was not the first place the authorities faced a challenge over access to land. Nor was it the first time the orderly creation of plots had been presented as a solution.

### 5.1 The *Kolonihager*

The earlier *Kolonihager* movement may have provided a template for the later creation of hut sites on Lindøya, Bleikøya and Nakkholmen. *Kolonihager* (colony gardens) still exist across Europe as fenced-off collections of plots on council-owned land, giving city residents without gardens the chance to grow fruit, trees and vegetables. In Oslo, there are currently nine gardens with around 1,600 plots. The *Kolonihager* Association also has gardens in Stavanger, Trondheim and Drammen, and un-affiliated *kolonihager* exist in Kristiansand and Tønsberg. The plot holders own their huts but only have long-term leases of the land – just like the hutters on Lindøya. The concept originated in Ancient Rome, was re-invented by the Germans in the nineteenth century and enthusiastically embraced by the Danish government, which leased out parcels of suburban land so factory workers could escape cramped unhealthy living conditions. The first houses were just sheds for temporary shelter and storing tools, but were gradually built up into ornate and idiosyncratic summer cottages – because winter use in Denmark and in Norway was forbidden.<sup>1</sup>

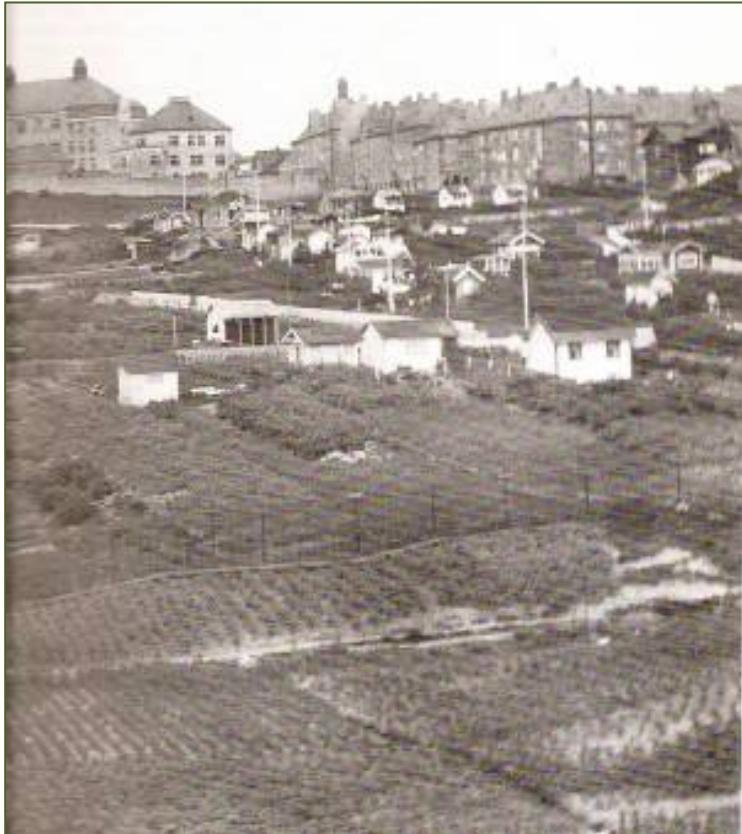
In 1906, the year after the first tented summer community was created on Lindøya, 20,000 plot-holders in 50 allotment gardens around Copenhagen formed the *Kolonihaveforbundet* (Allotment holders union) to lobby for better facilities and more plots of land to grow food.<sup>2</sup> In Russia that same year, tens of

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<sup>1</sup> A. Damin and J. Palmer, *Rural life in the city; the chalet garden in Denmark*, 2002  
<http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.555.5440&rep=rep1&type=pdf>  
“Year after year the owners decorated, painted and worked in the garden until each little “Kolonihavehus” had its own identity. They added towers and spires, roof terraces and balconies, they extended into the garden with porches and screens, pergolas, portals and fences; house and garden melted together in all colours of the rainbow. Today there are about 60,000 *kolonihaver* in Denmark and more are in the planning.”

<sup>2</sup> H. E. Sørensen and S.E. Ravn, *Alltiders Have* (Copenhagen;2008) p.44.

thousands of peasants were given land for food production outside cities through Prime Minister Stolypin's reforms. The proportion of small landowners (kulaks) rose from 11% in 1903 to 16% in 1912. Vladimir Lenin later called them "bloodsuckers, vampires, plunderers of the people and profiteers, who fatten on famine" and kulaks were finally deported and some executed as "class enemies" during the 1930s.<sup>3</sup> Norway's land was already more equitably distributed, but Russia's land reforms looked daring and radical. Either way, in 1906 the Norwegian authorities decided to act.



**Figure 5.1 Rodeløkka colony garden 1907**

State gardener Peter Nøvik finally realised the fruits of a decade's persuasive effort when Oslo *kommune* bought a site on Trondheim Road to create Norway's first *kolonihage*. Nøvik had given a lecture in 1897 to the Royal Society of Norway, entitled "Small gardens for city workers." It made the case "for the small garden as a substitute for a patch of land at home" – a description

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<sup>3</sup> Lenin's Collected Works, (Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1965) , Vol 28.

that clearly hinted at notions of compensation for city workers.<sup>4</sup> Although his suggestion was initially rebuffed, Nøvik went on to write articles, tour the country and offer advice to newly recruited city council gardeners. He produced the Smallholders Garden Handbook in 1913 – a planting guide to get the greatest food value from the smallest plots of land.<sup>5</sup> His 1897 correspondence with Oslo *kommune* illustrates the attitudes he had to overcome. The council leader wrote “The winter is so long and harsh. The summer is so short and harsh. It hardly helps to give our workers permission to build a garden. They have no desire!” Nøvik replied, “Precisely the long, dark winter promotes the desire for outdoor recreation in the short summer.”<sup>6</sup> Eventually, in 1907, Nøvik’s persistence paid off when 130 plots were laid out on the city’s old landfill site at Rodeløkka.<sup>7</sup> (Fig 5.1). Every political party in the City Council elections that year applauded its creation and supported the establishment of more *Kolonihager* in their manifestos. The city authorities in Norway were slower to be persuaded about the colony gardens than their counterparts in Germany, Denmark and Sweden. Perhaps that was related to relatively late urbanisation in Norway where the rural and dispersed nature of mining, timber and river-based, hydro-energy powered industry meant many Norwegian workers still combined paid work with small-scale farming. Indeed, the smallest farm units in Norway actually rose in number despite rising levels of industrialisation until 1949.<sup>8</sup> Today, the relatively limited uptake of *kolonihager* endures -- Norway has only 5% of Denmark’s city allotment total and most were completed in the 1930s.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, Norway has almost four times more *hytte* per head of the population than the Danes.

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<sup>4</sup> Røsjø, Kolonihager.

<sup>5</sup> P. Nøvik, Smaabrukeren Havebok (Oslo: 1923), *passim*

<sup>6</sup> Eriksen *Rodeløkkens Kolonihager*, p.14; In 1903, Nøvik’s cause was aided by the writer Marie Jorstad in the magazine Housewife who argued, "Colonial Gardens are a means of developing services, advancing self-help, cultural pursuits and discipline."

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid* p.15

<sup>8</sup> Ottar Brox 2010, semi structured interview

<sup>9</sup> International Allotments Federation website: In 2008 Norway had approximately 2,000 members, Finland 5,000, Sweden 25,000 and Denmark 40,000. (Oslo’s allotment total was 1,108 plots in 1947 – the number is hardly changed today.)

Neither the food-producing *kolonihager* initiated by the municipality nor the leisure-providing *hytte* islands initiated by the State had a big impact on the life of the average worker in 1920s Oslo. The numbers involved in any kind of hut-based leisure were small – 1000 huts on the colony gardens and 600 huts on the islands. Even taking into account the average family size of five children and visits from the wider family, perhaps only 15,000 Oslo workers had any access to individual huts in a total population of around 400,000. However, if Norway did not go on to build as many allotments as her Nordic neighbours, the *kolonihager* template and the chance to own a hut and lease land was firmly imported into civic thinking by the time Norway gained independence.



**Figure 5.2 Sogn Kolonihager, Oslo 2011**

After the Rodeløkka *kolonihager* was landscaped in 1907, Etterstad opened in 1908 with 89 plots, Frogner in 1909 with 132 plots and Ullevål with 72.<sup>10</sup> Bjølsen followed in 1912 on the initiative of *Hjemmet* magazine with 150 plots (taken over by the municipality in 1920) and finally the massive Solvang

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<sup>10</sup> T.G. Øyan *Bureisere midt i byen*, (Oslo: Tuva Gry, 2007) pp. 18-20.

opened in 1930 with 500 plots organized into four sections. The *kolonihager* at Frogner and Ullevål were eventually redeveloped (for housing and nurses' accommodation) but gardeners were offered new land at Sogn which opened in 1923 with 206 plots.<sup>11</sup> Sheds were permitted on the first *kolonihager* to store tools and these rapidly developed to become *hytte* in which families spent the entire summer.<sup>12</sup> Thus, by 1922/3 when the Landbruksdepartementet took the bold and unprecedented step of leasing plots to 600 workers on the inner fjord islands, it had just seen Oslo *kommune* do the very same thing, involving the same number of workers, from the same social background, with the same professed motives of poverty alleviation and fairness. Crucially – it had watched these developments take place in 13 gardens across 6 cities without witnessing any major hostility or backlash from other Oslo residents.

A few kilometres outside Trondheim in the 1920s a different type of “colony” appeared on a marginal farm at Jogjerdet which had been bought by two local businessmen and divided into 100 separate plots for *hytte* – the land was sold to working people who organised themselves into an association, and those huts are still there today.<sup>13</sup> In Trondheim – like Oslo -- there was already a precedent for the development of “private” leisure huts at Jogjerdet -- the municipal *kolonihager* of Lerkendal, which opened in 1918 at the suggestion of City Gardener Elisæus Trygstad.<sup>14</sup> Like Nøvik in Oslo, Trygstad tried to influence civic opinion by writing articles in Trondheim newspapers which pointed to the growing number of small dwellings without access to private gardens.<sup>15</sup> Trygstad started planting on *kommune*-owned land, one kilometre south of Trondheim in 1916. He directly lobbied the Mayor to allocate 5000 kroner for 52 plots at Lerkendal. This was approved and landscaping was completed in 1918. 74 new plots were added in 1919, 34 more in 1922 and a further 19 in 1927.<sup>16</sup> The hutters raised money to build a community hall in 1933, irrigated

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<sup>11</sup> Røsjø, *Kolonihager*, pp. 1-9.

<sup>12</sup> ibid P7

<sup>13</sup> Information supplied by Jogjerdet hytte owner: Dr Bjørn Frengstad, 2011

<sup>14</sup> J. Skriver, *Småbyliv fra 1870*, (Oslo: 1942), pp. 47-53.

<sup>15</sup> ibid

<sup>16</sup> N. Eriksen, *Kolonihagesaken i Norge: dens historie og betydning*, (Oslo: 1933) pp. 58-59.

the hillside and entered produce into Norwegian-wide *Kolonihager* competitions. But in 1959 the Lerkendal gardeners were suddenly given notice to quit to let the Norwegian Institute of Technology (NTH) expand. Hut-owners were given 500 kroner each if they cleared the site within a month and were promised new plots elsewhere in Trondheim.<sup>17</sup> That part of the bargain took longer to materialise -- Klemetsaune *kolonihager* finally opened in 1988.<sup>18</sup> NTH later merged with other academic institutions to form the Norwegian University of Science and Technology. Ironically NTNU produces research demonstrating the importance of small-scale food production in Norway.

In Stavanger the first push for colony gardens came - once again - from the County Gardener in the years after independence. Jacob Jensen, who had been on a study tour to Denmark and Germany, agitated strongly for allotments in 1908, lectured and made plans to construct and plant them. But nothing took place until 1913 when the town's doctor, Thomas Wyller, who also worked in Denmark, wrote newspaper articles to support allotments on health grounds. A factory owner, Gunnar Løvik together with Stavanger's Mayor identified suitable areas.<sup>19</sup> Stavanger *kommune*, which then had a Labour majority, granted money for the purchase of two farms in Eiganes on slopes built up from ballast soil deposited by shipping operations during the previous century.<sup>20</sup> Eiganes was laid out as a colony garden in 1916, Strømvik was built on land already owned by the council and in 1917, Rosendal and Ramsvik Colony Gardens and Vålandskogen allotments were bought, landscaped and leased out. Altogether, 600 plots were created, which meant there were 14 allotments per 1,000 inhabitants. In Norway, no other city gave more space to allotments.<sup>21</sup> After the war though, Stavanger Council faced different challenges. The drive to provide enough high standard, first homes led to 150 plots being re-developed by Stavanger *kommune*.<sup>22</sup> Fearing re-development could remove all *kolonihager*,

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<sup>17</sup> ibid

<sup>18</sup> <https://www.klemetsaunekolonihage.no> Accessed November 2015

<sup>19</sup> Storholm G. *Kolonihagene -- et annerledes samfunn* Stavanger 2010 pp12-13

<sup>20</sup> ibid p13

<sup>21</sup> ibid p13

<sup>22</sup> *Stavanger mellom sild og olje: hermetikkbyen 1900-1940* Stavanger 1988 p233

Alf Thuv, chairman of the Stavanger Joint *Kolonihager* Board took leading council officials on a study trip to colony gardens in Denmark and Germany.<sup>23</sup> Local interest in the plots grew, no further sales were made and there is still a healthy waiting list today.<sup>24</sup>

Bergen came to *kolonihager* later and departed sooner than other Norwegian cities. Two sites with 89 plots were opened at Slettebakken in the 1930s but were demolished in 1954.<sup>25</sup> Information on Slettebakken is limited - perhaps second homes and fruit trees seemed less important than the post-war housing crisis when large families were reduced to living in tents. (Figure 5.3 below)



**Figure 5.3 Slettebakken *kolonihager* 1930 (left) Family of 9 in a tent at Slettebakken (right) 1961. (Fotomuseum Bergen)**

Plots at *kolonihager* were generally obtained by application to the municipality, and applicants needed to have the right social profile -- "families with children living in cramped city apartments in need of extra food, light and air." Almost precisely the same words were used to describe preferred candidates by the Department of Agriculture on Lindøya. But though the gardens were set up for workers and initially called *Arbeiderhagen* (workers

<sup>23</sup> G. Storholm, *Kolonihagene - et annerledes samfunn*, (Masters thesis, Stavanger: 2010) <https://uis.brage.unit.no/uis-xmlui/handle/11250/184470> Accessed April 2013, p.14.

<sup>24</sup> B. Furre, *Vårt hundreår- norsk historie 1905-1990*, (Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget, 1991)

<sup>25</sup> <https://www.bergenbyarkiv.no/aarstad/archives/slettebakken-kolonihager/3303> Accessed April 2019

gardens), evidence suggests it was not the very poorest who rented the first plots. At Rodeløkka when the barren hilltop site was landscaped in 1907 there was confrontation with tramps or *dagdrivere* (idlers) who had been staying there. On Midsummer's Eve 1907 they set fire to parts of the wooden fence Oslo municipality had built around the colony. This episode is cited by Knut Kjeldstadli as an example of the tensions that existed within the Oslo working class; "Those who were in work looked askance at the truly poor."<sup>26</sup> The membership list shows the majority of the garden's pioneers belonged to the skilled section of Oslo's rapidly growing working class; carpenters, plumbers, car mechanics, gas plant workers, four prison guards, typographers, shoemakers, bookbinders, a brush-maker, a barrel-maker, a lamp lighter, tram conductors, warehouse workers, electricians, janitors, a jeweler, a merchant, two sergeants and even an archivist in the Agriculture Ministry, namely, the garden's first chairman, Karl A Ljungberg.<sup>27</sup> The old membership records from the colony gardens of Stavanger show an equally large proportion of artisans, clerks and public employees.<sup>28</sup> The criteria for selection do not appear to have been recorded at any of the allotment sites but the following were said to boost chances of selection; experience of growing food or living in the countryside as a child; living in a household with many children; living close by in block housing; having no access to "private greenery" and Labour Party or trade union membership.

In Oslo, oral sources among the allotment holders said that in the past, it was almost an unspoken requirement to have Labour Party membership in order to obtain a plot.<sup>29</sup>

However, the low membership fee and the modest price of cabin purchase, far below the market rate, suggest the *kolonihager* were satisfying "social" objectives. In Stavanger, a recent survey of housing shows 61% of existing

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<sup>26</sup> Øyan, *Bureisere midt i byen*, p.17.

<sup>27</sup> ibid p18

<sup>28</sup> Storholm, *Kolonihagene*, p.15

<sup>29</sup> ibid p15

colonists still live in block housing and flats compared to 49% of the general city population.<sup>30</sup>

The danger of alcoholism amongst workers was one reason cited for the creation of colony gardens. As the historian Christopher Lasch put it, "the goal of community thinking is to restore the central bourgeois virtues of honesty, loyalty, diligence and temperance, and bring them to a moral foundation."<sup>31</sup> For "born again" *kolonihager* owners, such values were part of the unwritten rules. More than that though, the colony gardens offered a chance to recreate fragments of a rural way of life that was well known to the first generation of industrial workers. By growing their own food, they had an opportunity to offset the alienation of modern industrial society, boost living standards and, "meet with their own roots."<sup>32</sup>

Were the *kolonihager* used as a template for dividing up the *hytte* islands? The American political theorist James Burnham argued in 1941 that a new social class of "managers" had emerged after the First World War, and was engaged in a "drive for social dominance, power and privilege." It was careful to retain some democratic trappings, like a political opposition, free press, and a controlled "circulation of the élites."<sup>33</sup> Samuel T. Francis characterised the managerial state as acting in the name of abstract goals like equality and human rights, and using moral superiority and the promise of wealth redistribution to stay in power.<sup>34</sup> Francis observed that the managerial class believed problems arising in different situations tended to have more similarities than differences, and could best be resolved by the application of management skills and theory. Did senior officials in the Norwegian Civil Service believe they could defuse the rising tide of worker unrest by adapting a solution already successfully deployed by another part of the managerial class in Oslo *kommune*? Was the

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<sup>30</sup> ibid p29

<sup>31</sup> ibid p15

<sup>32</sup> ibid p15

<sup>33</sup> J. Burnham, *The Managerial Revolution: What is Happening in the World*, (New York: Praeger, 1941), p.71.

<sup>34</sup> S.T. Francis, *Power and History, The Political Thought of James Burnham*, (Maryland: University Press of America, 1984) p.42.

*utparselling* on Lindøya simply an island-based application of the *kolonihager* template?

There are indeed strong similarities between food producing *kolonihager* like Rodeløkka and the leisure-oriented *hytte* islands of Lindøya, Nakholmen and Bleikøya. In Rodeløkka and Lindøya use of huts was strictly summer season only and “*overnatten*” (overnight stays) out of season was forbidden.

*Foreningen* (Associations) were set up almost immediately with *styret* (elected boards) responsible for collecting rent, keeping order, liaising with the *kommune*/state and developing the social life of the allotment.<sup>35</sup> There were subdivisions at Rodeløkka and roder on Lindøya -- to create more effective social and administrative connection between plot holders. Clubs and societies quickly sprang up – a Women’s Association was formed in both places, and within a year of plots being created, a *forsamlingshus* (assembly house) was built at Rodeløkka and a *Velhus* opened on Lindøya.<sup>36</sup> There was the same tension between public and private space – *kommune* rules stated the *kolonihager* must be open to the public during daylight hours, just as Lindøya could not become a “private” island. It was compulsory to have numbers painted prominently on the sides of huts on the *hytte* islands and the *kolonihager* and it was compulsory to join the *vel* or *forening*. In Rodeløkka and Lindøya, public authority owners of land were content for a private body of hutters to collect the rent on their behalf. The amounts were very similar -- 5 ore per m<sup>2</sup> in the first colony gardens (10 kroner for a 250m plot in 1907) and a flat rate of 10 kroner on Lindøya in 1922.<sup>37</sup>

There were also important differences. In both types of colony, plots were a prescribed maximum size and were distributed by lottery. But Rodeløkka plots varied from 150-250m<sup>2</sup> whilst Lindøya plots were only a little larger than the huts themselves (35 m<sup>2</sup> & 25m<sup>2</sup> for 1 and 2 storey houses respectively) and rules stated flower beds could not extend further than a metre

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<sup>35</sup> Eriksen, *Kolonihagesaken i Norge*, pp 23-25

<sup>36</sup> Øyan, *Bureisere midt I byen*, pp. 80-91. Lindøya Vel 1997, p.40-41.

<sup>37</sup> ibid p15.

from *hytte* walls.<sup>38</sup> Meanwhile huts in the *kolonihager* could be no higher than a single storey and no larger than 20m<sup>2</sup> – far smaller than huts on Lindøya. It would seem island plots were designed without fruit and vegetable cultivation in mind, whilst *kolonihager* huts were designed without summer-long residence in mind. Rodeløkka hutters had nearby homes with beds, water and washing facilities whilst Lindøya hutters had no alternative shelter except their old tents. In practice though, *kolonihager* hutters quickly established a pattern of summer-long residence in their tiny huts – perhaps this experience influenced the Department of Agriculture's decision to have a larger permissible size of huts on Lindøya. There were obvious differences in the leasing arrangements. Nearly all the *kolonihager* were built on municipal land and plots were available on 5-year leases from 1907. By contrast hutters on Lindøya, Nakholmen and Bleikøya paid rent to the state, had no leases and could be evicted at a month's notice until 1981. *Kolonihager* were edged by high forbidding looking fences to stop would-be thieves making off with food. Fences were forbidden on Lindøya - plots were edged by lilac hedges and roder were generally bounded by the sea. The biggest difference though would not really become apparent for another century. There was a free market in the sale of *hytte* on Lindøya whereas the prices of *kolonihager* plots and huts have always been capped. Whoever wants to sell their allotment must tell the *styret* (Garden's governing body). Since 1958 they then consult the *Oslokretsen* – a joint board that fixes prices.<sup>39</sup> The board then consults the waiting list where would-be gardeners have been waiting for years. This "social model" for buying and selling plots stops bidding to drive up prices, allows social not market criteria to determine the choice of new hut owners and (theoretically at least) stops the payment of money "under the table."<sup>40</sup> In 2011 the top rate for a *kolonihager* *hytte* was a maximum of 250,000 kroner. A cabin of roughly the same size on Nakholmen was sold for 4 million kroner.

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<sup>38</sup> ibid. p.14.

<sup>39</sup> ibid pp. 110-113.

<sup>40</sup> ibid

Why did the *Landbruksdepartementet* not insist on similar price controls, lists and control on Lindøya? In 1922 it was not clear the huts would last more than a few years. Perhaps if the state had set up a system with waiting lists, price controls, mechanisms for inheritance, contracts with leasing terms and conditions and even plots with vegetables – all of that would have signalled that huts on the islands were there to stay. Although the state owned Lindøya, it was well aware the *kommune* had other priorities and perhaps gambled that once full employment and prosperity favoured port expansion, workers might value job security more highly than their island holiday homes. Furthermore, *kolonihager* embodied many things *landliggerne* wanted to avoid. The majority of hutters lived in the east side of Oslo and must have known about the *kolonihager*. Some, like Tutta Normann's grandfather Hilmar, walked past those garden plots en route to their boats and tents on Lindøya. If the *landliggerne* just wanted huts, small patches of land and a leisure life without hours of rowing, they could have applied for allotments. New plots did dry up in the 1920s, so perhaps they simply missed out. Perhaps though they wanted a greater degree of separation from the authorities, the city and the growing pressure on workers to conform to the expectations of the Workers Movement. Trade unionists and Labour Party members were active in the *kolonihager*, workers walking clubs and workers associations for sport, education and leisure. Those who opted to decant their families to Lindøya for the whole summer could have been engaged in all these improving activities – but chose not to. Perhaps they were demonstrating the very tendencies the *Arbeiderbevegelsen* always feared with the statutory introduction of leisure. The *landliggerne* appear to have been less politically committed, demonstrably more leisure oriented, individualistic and adventurous than those choosing to settle for a summer within reach of trade union organisers and socialist proselytisers at the *kolonihager*. To own a boat and buy petrol - they must also have been slightly wealthier. Perhaps the *landliggerne* doubted the likelihood of socialist revolution in Norway, and Lindøya was both an investment and insurance policy. After all, within one year of the October Revolution in Russia, the asset-owning kulaks were being persecuted and the neighbouring Finns gripped by

the bloodiest civil war in European history.<sup>41</sup> The creation of a self-sufficient state within a state might have looked like a good way to hedge bets about the future, for Oslo workers with something to lose. Growing vegetables in a plot surrounded by block housing, locked behind three-metre high fences did not appeal to the *landliggerne*. But that is not to say they objected to growing plants. In her research, Ingum Grimstad Klepp examines the near obsessive interest in flower rather than vegetable cultivation amongst the earliest settlers on Lindøya, and suggests this was an attempt by hatters to differentiate themselves from the poorest Oslo workers by embarking on a “class journey” to establish themselves as decent citizens capable of enjoying the same “social goods” as the middle classes in their *hytte* on the Nesodden peninsula.<sup>42</sup> Indeed Knut Kjeldstadli comments that the separate workers’ movement “came to seem like isolation from rather than a challenge to bourgeois society” with workers’ leisure organisations simply mirroring the existing social arrangements of society.<sup>43</sup> Tutta Normann recalls that her grandfather had no interest in *kolonihager* but was very interested in improving the soil and growing flowers once he finally got his plot on Telttoddern in 1932.<sup>44</sup> The family of her husband Ola Normann had a *hytte* at the Sagene *Kolonihager* and lived there all summer. Ola disliked the constant need to lock and unlock gates and the unnaturally long, straight roads. “Lindøya feels like you have left the city – Sagene did not.”<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> W. Trotter, *Finland – the Winter War* (London: Pegasus, 2003)

<sup>42</sup> Klepp, En Stat i solen, pp. 76-77.

<sup>43</sup> Kjeldstadli, *Den delte byen*, p83

<sup>44</sup> Interview with Anne Marie “Tutta” Normann 2011. “Hilmar said he didn’t have “green fingers” and the truth was he could afford to pay other people to get their fingers dirty growing vegetables. He wanted to spend his spare time in his boat and on the island outside the city – not on his hands and knees inside it.” And yet Tutta also observes that her father Leif complained that he spent the summer rowing soil out to the island when he was just 12. The geology of Lindøya is complex but Telttoddern is located on Ordovician soils, associated with hard surfaces and susceptible to water erosion. Islanders are reluctant to say where all this soil came from but thousands of tonnes were rowed out in the early years of settlement – and soil is still imported every year to replace what’s washed away.

<sup>45</sup> Leonard Normann -- Ola’s grandfather -- was a typographer at a newspaper and an active union man. He used the *kolonihager* to grow vegetables, apples and pears and bought a kiosk to live in during the summer. Ola’s father Trygve and mother Edith built a *hytte* on the old kiosk in 1969 and lived in it all summer. Interview with Ola Normann 2011.

There is not a single mention of *kolonihager* in the very detailed island histories written to commemorate 25<sup>th</sup>, 50<sup>th</sup> and 75<sup>th</sup> anniversaries on Lindøya and Nakkholmen – equally, the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary histories of Rodeløkka make no mention whatsoever of the island *hytte* as part of their tradition. Indeed today, the two types of hutting colony regard one another with some mutual suspicion. According to Liv Nordvik of the *Kolonihagerforbundet* (Allotment Association), price control and regulation make the *kolonihager styrets* (boards) “the last communists in Europe.” Like many in the wider Labour Movement she regards the island hutters as greedy individualists not workers’ heroes – a perception created by press reports of a few multi-million kroner *hytte* sales on Lindøya and Nakkholmen.<sup>46</sup> Likewise, the Lindøya hutters – many of whom are lifelong Labour Party members – dislike the rules and constant *kommune* oversight tolerated by *kolonihager* hutters. Naturally they reject accusations of greed – with good cause. No-one could have predicted in the 1920s that desolate, empty islands covered in modest huts would ever become sought after destinations for wealthy Norwegians. Equally, if speculation was an important motive for owning an island hut, then more than a handful would be up for sale. Even if Rodeløkka was the model for huts on Lindøya in the eyes of the State, the circumscribed lives of the *kolonihager* tenants certainly were not a model for the *landliggerne*.

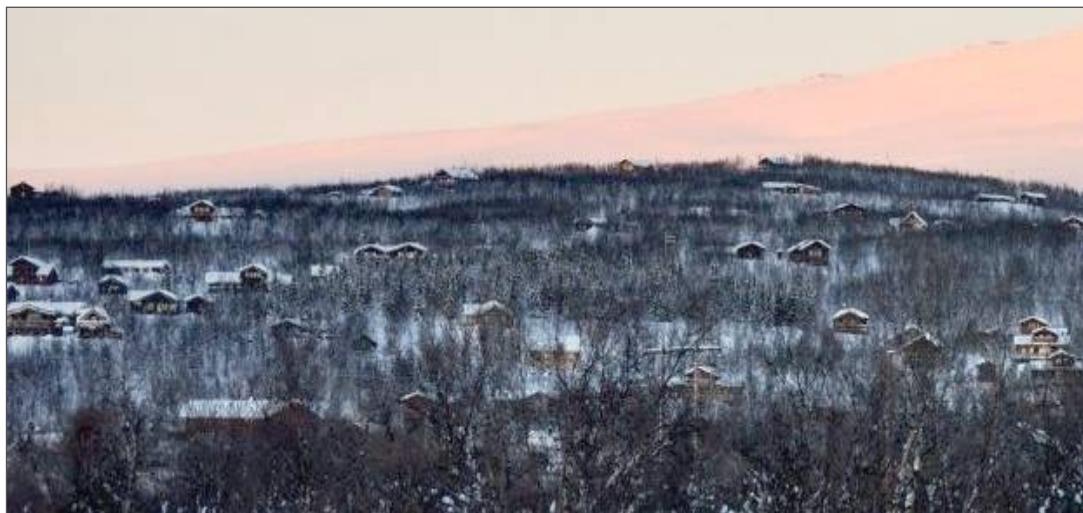
## 5.2 Skaidi

There appears to be only one “*hytte* colony” outside Oslo which is in any way like Lindøya. Skaidi in Arctic Finnmark is a collection of 1000 huts on land *utparsellert* by the Department of Agriculture over a period of decades. Every *hytte* (and every building in Finnmark except three churches) was burned to the ground by retreating German soldiers in 1944. So, details of pre-1940 huts and owners are hard to find. Skaidi has no central organising vel or forening, no restriction on year-round use and (given its Arctic latitude) no gardens. Like the Lindøya *landliggerne* though, Skaidi hutters are content to rent rather than own

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<sup>46</sup> Semi-structured interview August 2013

the land they have built huts upon and they share a common heritage – both communities only exist because locals acted to take over and enjoy underused state-owned land -- without the state's permission.



**Figure 5.4 Skaidi, Finnmark 2010**

The *Vest-Finnmark jeger og fiskerforening* or VJFF, (West Finnmark Hunting and Fishing Association) was founded in May 1924 to take over the management of the Repparfjordelva. This excellent salmon river runs 70 kms from the Arctic plateau of Sennalandet to the sea near Kvalsund, an hour's drive south-east of Hammerfest. In 1924, however, the river was badly run and almost devoid of fish. This was the situation the fishermen of Hammerfest wanted to rectify when they applied to take over river management from Charles Robertson, the grandson of a Scotsman and the government's Consul for Finnmark. The bid was rejected – the reasons given by the Fishing Commissioner at the Department of Agriculture were dismissive and almost racist.<sup>47</sup> This high-handed rejection contrasted starkly with the same department's benign and trusting “social experiment” on Lindøya, Bleikøya and Nakholmen just two years earlier. For the next five years though, Robertson was a member of the Oslo Government and, while he was away, VJFF members took

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<sup>47</sup> R. Nielsen, *Der laksen biter* (Hammerfest: 1999), p.16. Freshwater Fisheries Commissioner Landmark explained why VIFF failed to win the river management contract: ‘As everyone knows the majority of the population of West Finnmark is comprised of Lapps and layabouts, a race that has little respect for Norwegian law and order, and the members of the Fishing Association in Hammerfest, are probably only as well behaved as the people just mentioned.’

matters into their own hands and restocked the river with salmon they hatched themselves in a private cellar in Hammerfest.<sup>48</sup> Nonetheless in 1931, the Agriculture Ministry once again awarded the management contract to Charles Robertson. But the *fylkesmann* (or county governor) had noticed the dramatic improvement in stocking levels on the Repparfjordelva and asked the VJFF to resubmit their application with a list of 93 union members who were all “good citizens” with professional titles. This time they were successful. In 1938, even Charles Robertson paid tribute to the VIFF for transforming the river.<sup>49</sup>

But VIFF members had also transformed their own leisure habits. Every spare moment was spent on the Repparfjordelva – especially in the summer fishing season. So, what began as a battle to democratise sports fishing resulted in a crop of modest, seasonal riverside fishing huts which became so popular with VJFF family members that larger *hytte* were soon built away from the river on state-owned land at Skaidi.<sup>50</sup> Access was facilitated by the advent of a ferry from Hammerfest to Foldal in 1936.<sup>51</sup> Hutters cycled, drove trucks, sledged and carried building materials for the remaining 10 (uphill) miles to Skaidi.

### Vestfinnmark Jeger- og Fiskerforenings hytter



*Den første «Myggheim» bygget før krigen.*



*«Myggheim».*

**Figure 5.5 Pre and post WW2 versions of Myggheim – the first VIFF *hytte* on Repparfjordelva.**

<sup>48</sup> ibid pp16-18

<sup>49</sup> ibid p20 “It is my impression that salmon populations have increased sharply after the association took over.”

<sup>50</sup> ibid p21

<sup>51</sup> L. Friberg, *De grae skipene*. (Hammerfest, 1991) p.56

A road was built about the same time but most people did not have cars or more than Sunday off work. Even when the road to Alta was built it was often blocked by snow and Skaidi was as far inland as Hammerfest people could get.<sup>52</sup> The valley from Skaidi down to coastal Foldal is still privately owned by small farmers who graze sheep and cattle on the relatively fertile pastures there during the summer.<sup>53</sup> So the hilly, boggy, state-owned, land at Skaidi (“where rivers meet” in the native Sami language) appears to have self-selected as a location for the first anglers building huts for their families, a small distance from the Repparfjordelva. Today the area from the Sennalandet plateau down to the sea contains about 1200 *hytte* – more than the number of permanent residents in Kvalsund kommune – and statistics suggest Finnmark has the highest rate of *hytte* ownership in Norway. In 2010 there were 11,841 holiday homes amongst 72,856 people in Finnmark -- one for every 7 people.<sup>54</sup> The national average is one *hytte* for every 10 Norwegians.

Having interviewed a dozen *hytte* owners and descendants of the original VIFF founding members, the following emerged as important factors in Skaidi’s development as a hutting community. Firstly, land has been available to locals at little or no cost for centuries. Finnmark “county” has been owned by the State (like Lindøya) since 1789 when the villages of Vardo and Hammerfest were given city status and the land between them was taken over by the Norwegian government to stop annexation by incoming migrant Finns.<sup>55</sup> Many homeowners and farmers have since bought their land but even though *hytte* owners only rent (with *feste tomt* rolling lease contracts lasting 20 or 100 years) they behave like owners when it comes to investment, expansion, improvement and sale decisions. Just like the inhabitants of Lindøya, Skaidi hutters view the state as a fair and constant landlord. Thus, outright land ownership does not

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<sup>52</sup> ibid p.59.

<sup>53</sup> Interview with VIFF official, Jan Hartvigsen 2011.

<sup>54</sup> [https://www.ssb.no/a/histstat/nos/nos\\_b867.pdf](https://www.ssb.no/a/histstat/nos/nos_b867.pdf). Accessed November 2016.

<sup>55</sup>[https://www.idunn.no/heimen/2017/01/finnmarkshandelen\\_i\\_en\\_brytningstid\\_17891811\\_hva\\_kan\\_toll](https://www.idunn.no/heimen/2017/01/finnmarkshandelen_i_en_brytningstid_17891811_hva_kan_toll) Accessed October 2015

seem to be as important a factor in developing Skaidi as the presence of a dependable, unchanging landowner. Since the VIFF's 1931 triumph, hunting and fishing rights have remained cheap and accessible for locals. Unlike the hutters of Oslo fjord, however, boat owning is rare in Finnmark because of the extreme cold and dangers associated with sailing on the open sea.



Figure 5.6 A traditional Sami-style *gamme*, Hammerfest pre 1941

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When *hytte* rebuilding began after the end of German occupation in 1945, few other leisure/holiday opportunities existed locally. Hammerfest is 2 hours flight from Oslo, so travel has never been easy or cheap. Huts have always offered affordable and realistic holidays in one of the world's most remote



Figure 5.7 Wooden barracks in Hammerfest 1945

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<sup>56</sup> Hammerfest Museum, 2010.

regions. The relatively dry climate means unused huts do not deteriorate as they might in wetter parts of Norway, and are not generally plagued with mould and dampness. There is little economic demand and therefore little alternative use for isolated family homes and inland Skaidi has a different climate to coastal Hammerfest (colder in winter, warmer in summer). One couple interviewed (a teacher and a fisherman in their 60s) had six houses between them; one family home apiece, three *hytte* and one flat in Hammerfest. They said they felt no guilt owning so many houses – two properties are shared with siblings and they can identify a unique reason for the continued occasional use of the other *hytte*.<sup>57</sup> This builds on Sami tradition where *gamme* turf huts became temporary homes during reindeer herding (Figure 5.7) and on the Norwegian *seter* tradition of high summer farms. Skaidi is a traditional Sami meeting place (one of the women interviewed asked permission to build from Sami elders before going ahead with *hytte* construction in the 1950s). Snowmobiles changed the way Skaidi *hytte* were used after the 1970s – it became easier to move about in the winter than the summer. In 1978 regulations were introduced requiring snow mobile users to stick to officially marked trails, which prompted more activity on the heavily trail-marked slopes surrounding Skaidi.<sup>58</sup> Sami legal rights to herd reindeer on open land in Finnmark have also made Skaidi a “*hytte* hotspot” since permission for “stand-alone” *hytte* in open country is now harder to acquire. The self-build tradition of building houses is vital – teachers, fishermen, and all sorts of non-building professionals expect to build large parts of their first homes and huts themselves. *Dugnad* (acts of community labour) mean help is available from friends, family and neighbours with only specialist work being undertaken by paid professionals. In the post war period when *hytte* were rebuilt in Finnmark, that self-build tradition was at its strongest. People who had just received state aid (from the Housing Bank) to build a first home after the destruction of the German occupation would have found *hytte* construction

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<sup>57</sup> Interview with Bjorg and Ola Larsen, Hammerfest 2010

<sup>58</sup> <https://lovdata.no/dokument/NL/lov/1977-06-10-82> Accessed November 2015

very easy – everyone in post-war Finnmark had practice at building.<sup>59</sup> Once the people of Finnmark had “self-built” whole family homes, rebuilding *hytte* must have seemed relatively easy. Wood was “recycled” from the temporary barracks used to house returning citizens after the Nazi occupation.<sup>60</sup> (Figure 5.8) It seems some *hytte* were even built before permanent homes – such was the level of overcrowding in the barracks and the urgent quest for privacy. Even though a law was passed in 1949 forbidding the use of scarce building materials for *hytte* and cabins and requiring a permit for any construction that involved more than three labourers, the long Arctic winters offered time to plan, and a sense of social, personal and even moral purpose surrounded the re-building of burned out *hytte*. (Some people (on the island of Sorøya for example) only survived the German occupation because they hid in isolated *hytte* and Sami *gamme* (turf huts). The symbolic power of reconstruction turned the post war period into a period of renewal where re-building helped to distance Finnmark’s population from their recent trauma.<sup>61</sup> Many things divide Skaidi and Lindøya – not least enormous distance, organisational structure and seasons of access to *hytte*. But they have one thing in common. Both effectively began immediately after periods of social distress through peaceful but illegal acts of occupation - a characteristic they share with the remaining hutting communities in Scotland.

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<sup>59</sup> Interview with Bjorg and Ola Larsen, Hammerfest 2010

<sup>60</sup> Semi structured interview with Snorre Sundquist, Regional Director Husbanken The Norwegian State Housing Bank 2010

<sup>61</sup> K. Iversen, *Hammerfest etter 1914*, (Hammerfest: Hammerfest Kommune, 1989)





## Chapter Six - Case study: Carbeth

Carbeth Estate lies in southwest Stirlingshire, 2 miles west of Strathblane and 12 miles north of Glasgow. It is a small estate compared to its neighbours - 340 acres of hilly, hummocky land with a farm, loch and small forest. The remainder is woodland, upland pasture, gardens, estate houses and offices, and – since the 1920s -- Carbeth huts.<sup>1</sup> Carbeth lies close to the site of the Battle of Maesydac at Mugdock between the Celtic King of Strathclyde and the King of the Picts in AD750. It appears on Blaeu's Map in 1654 and General Roy's Military Survey in 1747-55.<sup>2</sup> Later it was described as the gateway to the Highlands – one of the great drove roads for sheep and cattle passed nearby at Drymen. According to one landowner in the 1870s;

This picturesque little estate is in the parish of Strathblane ... is situated in the upper part of the parish and the views ... over the beautiful valley of the Blane and highland hills are particularly fine.<sup>3</sup>

This scene has hardly changed. A mix of deciduous trees on the estate, stand beside more regimented, fir and larch plantations on the former lands of Craigallian Estate which flank Carbeth on the east and south. The rest of the land is open upland pasture and moorland.<sup>4</sup> In the nineteenth century, agricultural “improvement” and the process of enclosure on Carbeth were described as slow.<sup>5</sup> In 1808, John Guthrie, a Glasgow merchant, founded the small estate of Carbeth, building a new mansion house with stables, lodge offices and a walled garden. He created an ornamental pool and built the Cuilt Road over the hills to Blanefield.<sup>6</sup> In 1834 William Smith inherited Carbeth and changed the estate’s name to Carbeth Guthrie. He was Dean of Guild of the City

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<sup>1</sup> F. Jamieson, *Carbeth Character Appraisal, final draft report*, (Stirling: Stirling Council, 2000), p.4.

<sup>2</sup> J. Guthrie Smith, *The Parish of Strathblane & inhabitants; A Chapter of Lennox History* (Glasgow: BiblioLife, 1886) p.3.

<sup>3</sup> J. Guthrie Smith, *Old country houses of the Glasgow Gentry*; (Glasgow, BiblioLife, 1878), p. 48.

<sup>4</sup> ibid

<sup>5</sup> Jamieson, *Carbeth Character Appraisal*, p10

<sup>6</sup> ibid p.3

of Glasgow in 1821 and became Lord Provost in 1822. Smith was not often at Carbeth but his son John Guthrie, a noted antiquarian and historian, spent his childhood there.<sup>7</sup> Carbeth Guthrie House was occupied and improved by a variety of families, some of whom leased it out, until 1875 when Allan Graham Barns Graham (nicknamed AGBG) inherited the larger, neighbouring Craigallian estate and bought Carbeth Guthrie in 1890.<sup>8</sup> According to the second revision of the Ordnance Survey Map, Carbeth Loch was enlarged between 1896 and 1914, perhaps to provide better fishing. Allan Graham Barns Graham died in 1894, and his son Allan Barns Graham Senior (ABG Senior) inherited the land.

According to Allan Barns Graham (the present landowner) his grandfather was a second son. The elder brother, Patrick, died after a skating accident and his younger brother, John, "inherited the investments," went to New Zealand and prospered.<sup>9</sup> ABG Senior – who inherited Carbeth -- was apparently a modest and artistic type. He did not go for holidays or have a car. Carbeth House had no curtains and the present landowner recalls his grandmother boiling water before they could drink it. Life at Carbeth House was spartan. Their grandson suggests the couple lived very frugally, compared with more gentrified neighbours. ABG Senior seems to have been a creative man and a relatively modest landowner, who owned land that was wooded and largely unfit for agriculture. Already, some of the preconditions for hutting were in place.

There had also been leisure pursuits around Carbeth since the 1830s when the loch was first used for curling. In 1868 Carbeth Curling Club persuaded tenants on both sides of Carbeth Loch to flood the meadow to an agreed height between November and March.<sup>10</sup> This supports the present landowner's contention that the land was always considered marginal, was not well maintained by his grandfather and was never used for farming. Indeed, despite its rural location the area also contained light industry. Three miles over the hill at Strathblane, a water tunnel built in the 1850s brought an influx of

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<sup>7</sup> ibid p.5

<sup>8</sup> Valuation Roll of the County of Stirling (1889-93)

<sup>9</sup> Semi-structured interview with Allan Barns Graham (junior), 2015

<sup>10</sup> A. Dryden, *Strathblane 1870-1970: A century of change* (Strathblane: Strathblane Library, 2012), p.6.

workers, who stayed in the village and found work at a print works, which closed in 1898.<sup>11</sup> Meanwhile the Blane Valley Railway, opened in 1867 and the Stirling Observer remarked;

While some considered the industry a blot on the district, it was really the throbbing heart of the nation in this remote parish. The people were interesting, industrious and loveable and combined the charm of country people with skilled labour, for most of them were ... descendants of the agricultural population.<sup>12</sup>

Perhaps this predisposed ABG Senior to think favourably towards industrial workers – he inherited Carbeth Estate just four years before the print works closed. One immediate effect of the closure was that a large number of cottages became vacant as the population of the parish halved in ten years, falling from 1671 in 1891 to 880 in 1901. Meanwhile bricks from the demolished works were used to build at least six new houses in the village -- recycling was already popular before the Carbeth hutters arrived on the scene. The parish adjusted to the loss of employer and population by developing as a holiday retreat during the first two decades of the twentieth century.<sup>13</sup> The Coubrough family who owned the print works – were “active in their support of youth movements such as the scouts and hosted scout rallies in the grounds of Blanefield House. During the First World War, they played an active part in giving hospitality to invalid soldiers.”<sup>14</sup> The presence of scouts and soldiers at a nearby “holiday village” may also help explain their acceptance at neighbouring Carbeth after the war – and the strict rules laid down by ABG Senior. Workers at the Coubrough’s print works were expected to be punctual. Anyone late three times in a row had to pay a farthing into a tin – which was given to those on the Poor Roll.<sup>15</sup> John Coubrough stayed in the village after the print-works closed and was known as “Penny Jock” because of his involvement in the War Savings

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<sup>11</sup> ibid p.25.

<sup>12</sup> *Stirling Observer* 18.11.1898

<sup>13</sup> ibid p.23.

<sup>14</sup> ibid p.24.

<sup>15</sup> Dryden, *Strathblane* p.25.

Movement. By a strange coincidence, the man who finally persuaded ABG Senior to have huts on his land, saved money through just that scheme.<sup>16</sup>

A remarkable man, William Ferris, effectively started the Carbeth hutting site near Glasgow in the early 1920s. In 1918 he was a sergeant in the Highland Cyclist Battalion (HCB) and stationed at Ballinrobe in Ireland. Ferris wrote to an officer in the HCB – a Mr Hotchkiss -- asking him to intervene on behalf of himself and a few friends (Cpl Fraser and Sgt McCallum) with Carbeth landowner, Allan Barns Graham. He explained that Craigallion near Carbeth “was a favourite camping site” before the war and that “our little camping club would like a “club house” in the district for after the war weekends.” He and his colleagues had saved £30 since 1915 in War Savings Certificates to pay for it.<sup>17</sup> Realising that rank and social class mattered, Ferris concluded the brief letter by asking Mr Hotchkiss to approach Allan Barns Graham on behalf of “three of the original C company”. In a fuller letter sent the same day (13 December 2018), he reminds the officer that they met Mr Barns Graham “who is a friend of yours” on a pre-war cycling/camping trip, “and your brother arranged a meeting for McCallum and I when we were stationed at St Andrews.” He makes the case skilfully, citing the men’s war records and single-mindedness of purpose.

We have always been optimists about seeing this war through - never once did we cease our contributions [to the War Savings Scheme]. Corporal Fraser went out with the big draft in 1916 and has since been twice wounded. The other member of our club has been through the Jutland battle and got wounded during his ship’s hunt after the old German raider “Moewe”. He also got clear of Antwerp before the Boche got in during 1914. We are all looking forward to the time when we may resume our peacetime outings.<sup>18</sup>

During an interview, the current ABG Jr confirmed that Ferris and a Mr McMilan (this must have been McCallum) asked for huts at Carbeth but his

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<sup>16</sup> ibid p.26

<sup>17</sup> Letter dated 13.12.1918 C Company, Ballinrobe, Co. Mayo Ireland, Carbeth Archive

<sup>18</sup> ibid

grandfather refused, offering them the chance to camp instead – perhaps a probationary offer.<sup>19</sup> Ferris was requesting land at a time viewed by many as the high point of revolutionary fervour in Scotland. He wrote again directly to Barns Graham in 1919 after being demobbed and was again refused. The response from William Ferris pinpoints the likely source of the landowner's anxiety;

I thought it might interest you to know the war history of the "Bolshies" mentioned on your Postcard. There are five of us and we have all served during the war. Robertson was in the RNOR at the outbreak of war and has Antwerp, Jutland and a broken leg as his war honours. Fraser joined when the Post Office allowed him (1915) and managed to have a few years holiday in France where he collected a few wounded stripes until demobbed a few months ago. Smith visited Gallipoli, Egypt and France perhaps on "bolshie" propaganda, but his three gold bars indicate he did not have it all his own way. McCallum and myself both joined voluntary in September 1914 and came with the others to enjoy the lovely district of Carbeth just a few weeks after being demobbed. I wish sincerely that such [neighbours] as "A Soldier" would not hastily rush to conclusions.

Yours Sincerely W Ferris "one of the Bolshies"<sup>20</sup>

According to ABG Jr, his grandfather relented after getting to know William Ferris and let the men build huts a few years later. He suggests the two men got on very well – both were "artistic." Certainly Barns Graham and Ferris seemed to share an enthusiasm for Scottish Home Rule and sport.<sup>21</sup> Shortly after meeting Ferris in 1920, Barns Graham donated land in Cambuslang for an ex- Service Men's Club along with two bowling greens and a cricket ground.<sup>22</sup> In 1930 the landowner financed and unveiled the first Right-of-Way Indication Boards, erected in the West of Scotland by the Federation of Ramblers (one of

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<sup>19</sup> Semi-structured interview with Allan Barns Graham (junior), 2015

<sup>20</sup> Letter dated 14.7.1919 from 26 Glebe St Glasgow, Carbeth Archive

<sup>21</sup> *Kirkintilloch Herald* - Wednesday 27 April 1927. Barns Graham wrote a letter urging "all Conservatives, Liberals, and Socialists ... to unite in demanding that Scotland shall, at an early date, be allowed to manage her own affairs.

*Motherwell Times* - Friday 16 May 1947. Ferris writes supporting the creation of the Scottish Tourist Board because "as far as the London administration is concerned, Scotland is not on the map."

*Dundee Evening Telegraph* - Thursday 19 September 1935. Ferris represented 150 hutters in court and wins them the right to vote in forthcoming general & local government elections. The objector was West Stirlingshire Unionist Association, which later got the decision reversed on appeal.

<sup>22</sup> *Milngavie and Bearsden Herald* - Friday 27 August 1920.

many organisations set up by William Ferris).<sup>23</sup> There's a suggestion Barns Graham ran the estate "on a non-profit-making basis."<sup>24</sup> ABG Junior, however, believes the huts might also have been an important income source for his "asset rich but cash poor" grandfather -- not just a philanthropic move.

He got £1k per annum from the huts (rent was £5/6 per hut) and he often used to say that was his only income. I think the bulk of their money came from his wife's side of the family.<sup>25</sup>

In his submission to the Scottish Parliament enquiry in 2000, Barns Graham disputed the idea huts were set up for soldiers returning from the Great War and insists they were allowed as a way to avoid the health and hygiene problems associated with camping, and then as a way to house homeless families after the Clydebank Blitz.<sup>26</sup> Soon there were well over 200 huts. In 1929 the Carbeth Swimming Pool or Lido was opened and at a 1936 event there were 50 hut owners present, but "how numbers jumped from 5 to 50 I don't know."<sup>27</sup> Actually the donkey-work seems to have been done by William Ferris -- and the Blitz.

William's son, Murray Ferris, recalled that his father (born in 1894) was brought up in Govan - one of 11 children, only two of whom survived past the age of 5. His father did not actually get a hut for himself at Carbeth, despite his persistence and eloquent pleas, (which might explain ABG Jr's insistence that returning soldiers were not the main recipients of Carbeth huts) but he made it possible for hundreds of others by doing all the paperwork as secretary of the Hutters' Association and the Swimming Pool Club from his base at the stamp and bookshop he owned at West Nile Street in Glasgow between 1920-43. (Fig 6.1)

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<sup>23</sup> *Milngavie and Bearsden Herald* - Friday 11 July 1930.

<sup>24</sup> Jamieson, *Carbeth Character Appraisal*, p.43. The author, recommending the award of conservation status by Stirling Council, comments; "the socialist and philanthropic principles of Allan Barns-Graham may be in danger of being diluted, leading to gentrification."

<sup>25</sup> Interview with ABG Junior, 2012.

<sup>26</sup> Scottish Parliament, Justice and Home Affairs Committee 26 October 1999 Column 241.  
<https://archive.parliament.scot/business/committees/historic/x-justice/or-99/ju99-0702.htm>

<sup>27</sup> Interview with ABG Junior 2012, in which he maintained the original hutters wanted to be called hut owners or walkers.

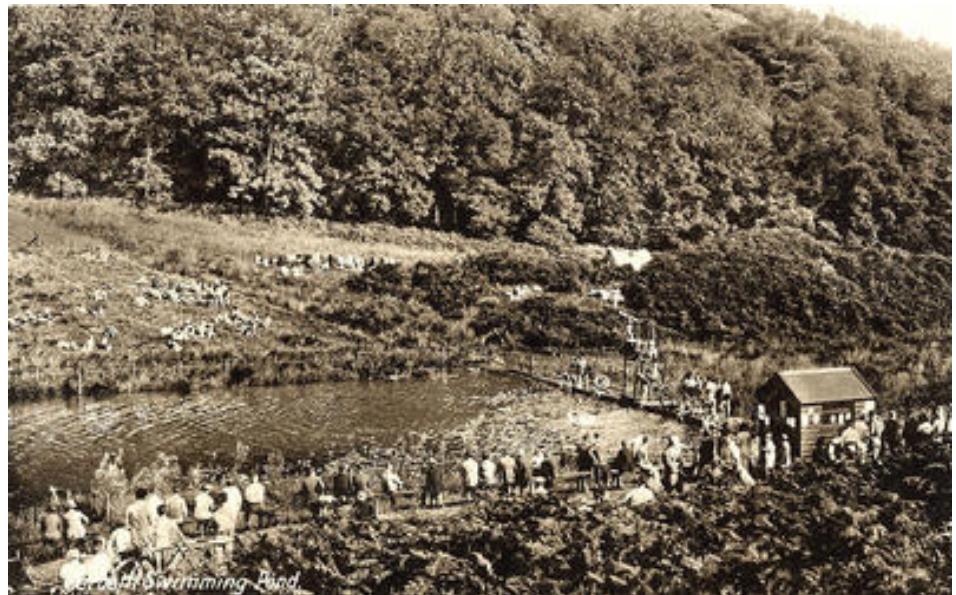


Figure 6.1 Carbeth Swimming Pool 1930s

Remarkably, Ferris managed these considerable administrative tasks despite also co-founding the Citizens Theatre as a member of the Clarion Players, becoming vice-president of the Camping Club of Great Britain and Ireland, vice-chairman of the Scottish Council of Physical Recreation, Chairman of the Scottish Rights of Way Society and the Scottish Ramblers Federation.<sup>28</sup> It seems a training in the Socialist Sunday Schools stood him in good stead. Ferris also founded Britain's first youth hostel at Kinlochard as part of a group of Glaswegians called the Rucksack Club.<sup>29</sup> This offshoot of the Glasgow Ramblers' Association, aimed to give members open-air holidays at minimum cost. Headed by Ferris, the group of 40 men each bought a £1 share in the new company, purchased a road-mender's hut at Kinlochard and refurbished it to accommodate 12 people at a time. Another hut was purpose built at Arrochar. But without investors, the Rucksack club hit financial trouble and sold its hostels to the Scottish Youth Hostels Association, formed in 1931.<sup>30</sup> Despite his involvement in the establishment of almost every outdoors organisation in Scotland, none appear to have any record of Ferris. All the more extraordinary

<sup>28</sup> Semi structured interview with William Ferris' son Murray in 2014.

<sup>29</sup> *Dundee Evening Telegraph* - Monday 05 July 1948

<sup>30</sup> D.G. Moir, 'Scottish Youth Hostels', in *Cairngorm Club Journal*, 1933)

given the pivotal role this man played – not just through the erection of huts at Carbeth but through the establishment of a myriad organisations supporting the right to roam for working Scots. (Figure 6.2)



**Figure 6.2 William Ferris**

In 1943 Ferris was invited by Tom Johnston (then Secretary of State) along with Dr T. J. Honeyman (who later became Principal of Glasgow University) and Lord Bilsland (Chairman of the Scottish Council of Industry) to form a committee which set up the Scottish Tourist Board. Ferris became a founding member.<sup>31</sup> So prolific was he in the sphere of outdoor sports that Ferris was to have received a presentation marking 21 years as chairman of the Scottish Camping Club on the day of his death. According to Dr Honeyman;

William Ferris revered his conscience as his chief tribunal. His kindness, his integrity, his tolerance were manifestations of the fact that his supreme interest in life – in the midst of a truly remarkable wide range of activities – was in his fellow men. This had its beginnings in the early days, when life was non-too easy; when there were handicaps to be overcome; when he was

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<sup>31</sup> Tribute to William Ferris by Dr T.J Honeyman at his funeral in 1963. Interestingly, in every other account of the Scottish Tourist Board's formation, Ferris' name is omitted.

surrounded by the evidence of “equal opportunities for every citizen” appearing to be little more than a high-sounding phrase instead of an inalienable right. It is not surprising that he identified himself with socialism.<sup>32</sup>

Ferris was also a very practical man. According to Honeyman;

He had a natural faculty for sizing up an apparently complicated situation, extracting from it the important issues. Subtleties of debate and strange circuitous manipulations he despised. He spoke his mind bluntly and his rich Glasgow accent– especially in London– could pierce any kind of sophisticated shield his opponents raised in defence. I once heard it said of him– and it was with affection– “Ferris is a rough diamond.” Implicit in the description was recognition of the jewel-like quality of his unswerving honesty. When he saw the right course, he followed it without a glance over his shoulder.

Ferris’ funeral was not a Christian service because he was an agnostic. But apparently, not an aggressive one. According to Honeyman; ‘His attitude was more like one of a favourite character from a Shaw play: ‘Well sir you never can tell.’

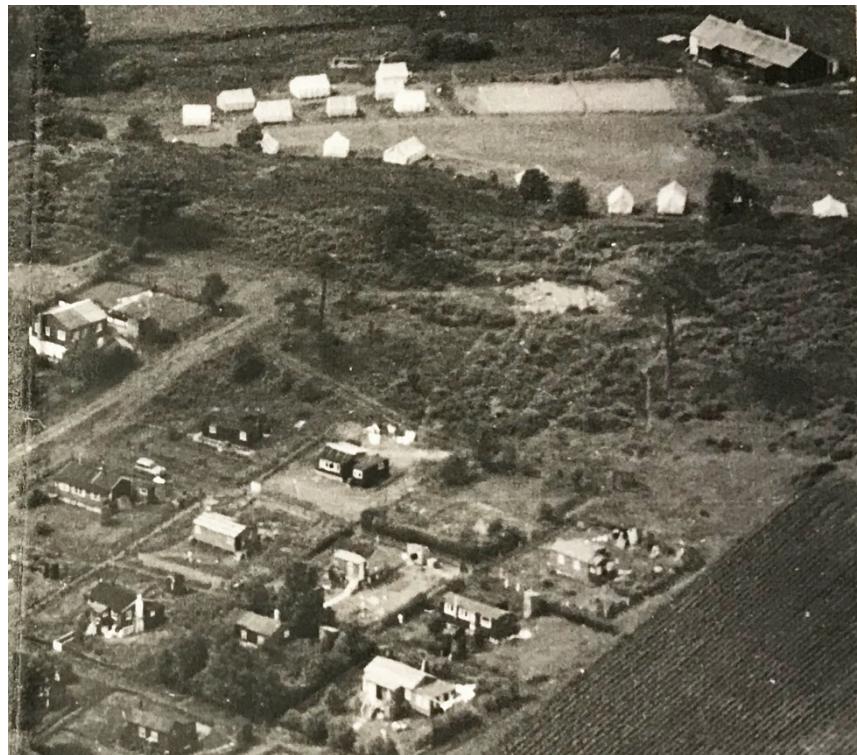
Ferris was also passionately interested in the arts and was a founding member of the Clarion Players. (see pages 85-89 on Clarion Movement) According to Honeyman; “He never lost his admiration for the giants of the Fabian Society and he treasured the memories of meetings, the notes the postcards and the letters associated with the trials and rebuffs, common to all reform movements.” Indeed, a Sunday Post article in the 1930s recounts that Ferris spent 15 minutes chatting to George Bernard Shaw at the Malvern Festival, in his capacity as business manager of the Glasgow Clarion Players; “a club which stages sensational plays – some of them banned.”<sup>33</sup> Ferris’ involvement with the Clarion movement may place him at the centre of another version of Carbeth’s origins - the Holiday Fellowship Camp and Association. This was established in 1923 by “three fellow sergeants in the Highland Light

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<sup>32</sup> ibid

<sup>33</sup> *Sunday Post* 7.8.1938.

Infantry.”<sup>34</sup> They rented a partly wooded area at Carbeth for a summer camp, close to a hut Clarion Scouts used to store bicycles with the encouragement of Allan Barns Graham, as early as the 1890s.<sup>35</sup> The camp could be occupied between 1 July and 30 September each year and was praised as “a very well organised enterprise with its own elected executive committee and strict rules about membership and behaviour.” (Figure 6.3)



**Figure 6.3 Layout of Carbeth in 1930s with huts & Fellowship Camp**

With strong overtones of the *vel* and *roder* on the self-organising hytte islands of Oslo fjord, each hutting area at Carbeth also had a site warden tasked to ensure site rules were adhered to and problems resolved.<sup>36</sup> Although the Clarion Scout’s use of Carbeth predates William Ferris involvement (born in 1897), the competing versions of Carbeth’s origins appear to be multiple versions of the same story. The establishment of the hutting community has also been ascribed to the wider outdoors movement and the Depression. Certainly,

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<sup>34</sup> Dryden, Strathblane, p158

<sup>35</sup> Jamieson, Carbeth Character Appraisal, p.12.

<sup>36</sup> ibid pp.12-13.

by the 1930s Carbeth had become a hub for climbers and cyclists en route to the Highlands;

The unemployed from the shipyards of Scotstoun and Clydebank and climbers, many of them in the legendary Creag Dhu, all met at Craigallion Loch, a little south of the huts, where a fire was reputedly never allowed to go out, such was the coming and going of walkers, mountaineers, and tramps.<sup>37</sup>

Among those who met at the campfire near Carbeth were said to be "adventurous spirits who went on to volunteer for the International Brigades, and used the site for training before sailing to Spain and the civil war."<sup>38</sup> The nearest tram station was relatively distant Milngavie (which also meant a time consuming and expensive bus or train journey into Glasgow). So, the first hutters walked to Carbeth, which explains why many came from Clydebank, and simply walked over the Kilpatrick hills using an old right of way.<sup>39</sup>



Figure 6.4 Cartoon of William Ferris c1930

<sup>37</sup> I.R. Mitchell, *Walking Through Scotland's History* (Edinburgh: NMS Publishing, 2007), p.133.

<sup>38</sup> *The Herald* 7 Jun 2011.

<sup>39</sup> Mitchell, *Walking Through Scotland's History*, p.133.

Murray Ferris recalls that his father was a keen cyclist, who found a firm in Greenock able to make bicycles with gears to cope with the Scottish hills and paniers front and back long enough to take camping equipment.<sup>40</sup> He found another Glasgow-based firm, which made light tents suitable for weekend jaunts. Figure 6.3 is a sketch of Ferris on one of these bikes – captioned “The Optimist.”<sup>41</sup> There is no documentary proof that a Clarion Cycling outing provided Ferris with his first experience of Carbeth – but it seems likely. A sizeable Clarion Cycling club was based in Govan, where his family lived. (Figure 6.5) Involvement with the Clarion Cycling Clubs may also have motivated Ferris to join the Highland Cycling Battalion during the war, like thousands of keen socialists urged to sign up by the editor of the Clarion newspaper.



**Figure 6.5 The Govan Clarion Cycling Club c 1910**

Whatever the precise connections that drew William Ferris and others to Carbeth, the hutting community certainly grew fast. It is not clear when tents became huts at Carbeth – in the 1920s campers used tents with wooden floors, stored in a recreational hall built by Fellowship members – very similar to the

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<sup>40</sup> Semi structured interview with Murray Ferris February 2015

<sup>41</sup> Copy obtained from Murray Ferris February 2015

*lemmehytte* (half tent-half hut structures) erected before 1922 on Lindøya in Norway.<sup>42</sup> (See footnote 52 ; page 151). By 1922, the annual rent for huts was £9, paid in two six monthly blocks, plus occupiers' rates. Each hut site was sixty feet square. Just like the hutters on Lindøya, hutters at Carbeth were governed by Rules and Conditions (Figure 6.6) that were strict and precise and warned against activities that might prompt intervention by the local Sanitary Inspector.<sup>43</sup> harbouring secret overnight visitors, for example, could "endanger our scheme" and make tenants liable to prosecution for overcrowding under the Public Health and Housing Acts (Scotland) 1897-1937.

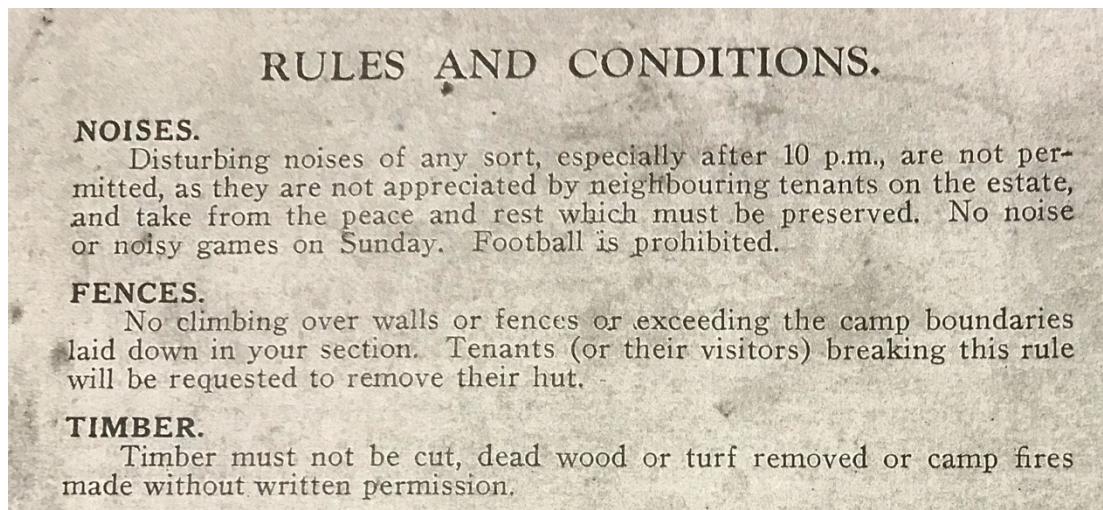


Figure 6.6 Rules and Conditions at Carbeth Hill Camp

Unsightly buildings and rubbish might reduce the value of all surrounding huts. Railway wagons, coaches, old trams and bus bodies were not allowed on the estate and applications to deploy them would be "a waste of time." Barns Graham was worried about pollution of water supplies and used the provision of hut sites to ban "insanitary camping". By all accounts, ABG senior behaved like "a benevolent dictator."<sup>44</sup> Hutters were only allowed at weekends and

<sup>42</sup> Dryden, Strathblane, p.158.

<sup>43</sup> Carbeth Hill Camp, Rules & Conditions issued by Wm Ferris, Secretary for Allan Barns-Graham 1923.

<sup>44</sup> Email from former Green MSP and Carbeth hutter Chris Ballance June 2013

owning dogs, playing football, climbing over walls and having overnight visitors were all forbidden.<sup>45</sup> Apparently, the landowner went around the site after the last bus each Sunday to check every chimney was cold, and each hut empty.<sup>46</sup> Yet the site continued to expand. In 1941 Clydebank Council asked permission to build 47 huts to house families made homeless in the Blitz boosting numbers to 285 huts by 1947.<sup>47</sup> Barns Graham's acceptance of the new hutters was somewhat grudging. Six months after the Blitz, the county assessor doubled the rates payable by the new arrivals despite an emotional appeal by William Ferris at Stirlingshire Valuation Appeal Court. He argued against disturbing "alternative shelters so valuable in war-time" on the grounds it would be a "hardship to force working people to give up their huts." He suggested the court had the chance to offer practical help and sympathy for people in a blitzed area concluding; "Why should the assessor have an adding machine where his heart should be?"<sup>48</sup> The county assessor's response showed the law favoured landowners, however unreasonable their demands might appear;

There were only two remedies; an alteration of the law of Scotland or that the proprietor should be prepared to delete from the agreement the extremely unusual provision that the tenants pay the proprietor's rates and income tax. He had never heard of such an agreement before.<sup>49</sup>

Amongst the Blitz evacuees, primary aged pupils attended Craigton School about 3 miles away, travelling by bus in the morning and walking home.<sup>50</sup> Older children attended Balfron High School. But there were still up to 60 children without a school place in 1941. There were two shops - one owned by a local man Jimmy Robertson described as "a legend who had an old bus with a tree growing out of the roof" and the other by Barns Graham. There were very few private cars and Alexander buses provided a special service into Glasgow "lining up at the bridge on a Sunday night" to take the hutters home.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Carbeth archive.

<sup>46</sup> Chris Ballance email, June 2013

<sup>47</sup> Jamieson, *Carbeth Character Appraisal*, p.8.

<sup>48</sup> *Stirling Observer* - Thursday 18 September 1941

<sup>49</sup> *ibid*

<sup>50</sup> *Falkirk Herald* - Saturday 01 November 1941

<sup>51</sup> Letter May MacGregor 1980s, Carbeth Archive

Conditions were pretty basic for the decanted Clydebank families. A journalist reported that a family of six was living in a hut “like a kennel it was so small,” prompting Barns Graham to order the family off his estate, though apparently he later relented.<sup>52</sup> Indeed, when he died in 1957, Allan Barns Graham’s will revealed a total change of heart towards the hutters he once shunned, doubtless at least partly a result of his friendship with William Ferris. He wrote: “My estate of Carbeth shall not be feued or leased in such a manner as to interfere with the tenancies or rights of the original hutters.”<sup>53</sup> He also instructed his heir to “look after the hutters without remuneration.” Within a year though, the spirit of ABG senior’s will had been bent if not broken.

According to Carbeth hutter May Macgregor, ABG senior’s son and heir, Patrick doubled rents soon after inheriting Carbeth estate in 1959, ostensibly to invest in mains water. May’s husband Bill had started a tenant’s association when water supplies failed to appear.<sup>54</sup> Patrick Barns Graham took Bill and May to court and won – they were evicted in May 1961 but in yet another ruling where the judge clearly found the landowner’s actions unreasonable, he ordered no new huts could be built on their site. According to another hutter, Netta Wallace, a neighbour was evicted around the same time for merely cutting down a tree.<sup>55</sup> Patrick Barns Graham threatened to evict him and charge him £50 if his hut was not demolished by the weekend. The neighbouring hutters dismantled the hut and recycled the wood in their own huts.

An undated letter (probably sent in 1962) offers further insights into the lack of investment at Carbeth. Robert Maxwell Beveridge, writing from an address in Canada as a “founder” of the Carbeth Swimming and Athletic Club (CAASC), recalled that his “happy little group of hikers occasionally passed over the Blane valley and stopped for a swim in Carbeth Loch with the consent of its owner,” Baron (sic) Graham who; “made us welcome to his home one Sunday afternoon to discuss the possibility of forming what’s now the Carbeth

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<sup>52</sup> ibid

<sup>53</sup> Mitchell Library Carbeth Guthrie archives box TD 1075 Box 12 3/3

<sup>54</sup> Undated letter by May MacGregor 1980s, Carbeth Archive

<sup>55</sup> Undated letter from Netta Wallace in Carbeth Archive

Swimming Club.”<sup>56</sup> There is no reply in the Carbeth archive, but the next letter from Beveridge suggests he has been informed that improvements at the swimming pool have not occurred because; “Scottish youth is no better than any other nationality regarding vandalism.” Beveridge commiserates and tells Patrick Barns Graham that his hiking group was willing to clear up the mess left by others - “one reason your father and Mr Ferris allowed us free access to the estate.” He concludes that he “expected to see great changes and improvements.... but nothing much has changed in 40 years.”<sup>57</sup> The accounts of the Swimming Pool from 1935-68 show that it was clearly intended to be a business venture, though the auditor notes it never made more than £150 profit Ferris received 10% of the takings as Secretary and appears to have been a keen swimmer.<sup>58</sup> (Figure 6.7)

The biggest attendance was in June 1940, when 1054 visiting bathers took to the waters (excluding members) with free access given to anyone wearing the King’s Uniform. Thereafter prices rose and on each occasion numbers plummeted.<sup>59</sup> Beveridge’s letters suggest that by the late 50s and early 60s, Carbeth Swimming Pool had entered a period of neglect and underinvestment under its new owner Patrick Barns Graham. Another change had a negative impact – tram services from Glasgow to Milngavie were axed in 1956 making it likely that; “young hikers will go where they can get transportation into the countryside.”<sup>60</sup> This must have affected numbers coming to Carbeth, but perhaps Patrick Barns Graham also used vandalism and poor transport links to justify running down his father’s precious “social experiment.” In 1962 Patrick did bring mains water to the estate (apparently after a battle with Glasgow Council) and provided 17 standpipes for hutters.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Undated letter fm Robert Maxwell Beveridge, Scarborough, Ontario, Canada. Carbeth Archive

<sup>57</sup> ibid

<sup>58</sup> James W Simpson, Auditor Kilmarnock 31.3.1935, Carbeth Archive.

<sup>59</sup> Carbeth Swimming Pool Balance Sheet; The number of adult members falls from 164 to 31 when the prices double from 2/6 to 5s in 1936

<sup>60</sup> [www.undiscoveredscotland.co.uk/milngavie/milngavie/index.html](http://www.undiscoveredscotland.co.uk/milngavie/milngavie/index.html) Accessed July 2016

<sup>61</sup> Jamieson, *Carbeth Estate Area Character Appraisal*, p.14.

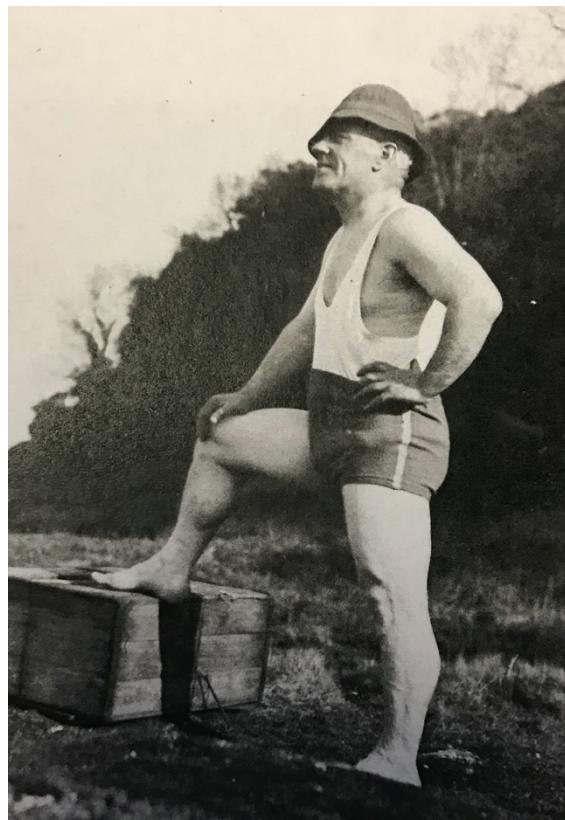


Figure 6.7 William Ferris by Carbeth Swimming Pool

The biggest change in the fortunes of the Carbeth hutters occurred in 1963, when William Ferris, their great protector, suddenly died. Without his hard work and mediation, and with a new generation of the Barns Graham family at the helm, relations between landowner and hutters grew strained. In 1968, the Fellowship Camping Association disbanded and terminated its lease.<sup>62</sup> During the 70s and 80s the community struggled “due to a general lack of care and maintenance.”<sup>63</sup> In 1972 the swimming pool closed, many huts were vandalised or became derelict and although the West Highland Way opened in 1980, passing within yards of Carbeth, the site declined. The huts had no running water, electricity, gas or sewerage. Stirling Council provided water to standpipes and collected rubbish, financed by the rates hutters had to pay. According to hutter Bill McQueen;

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<sup>62</sup> ibid p.13

<sup>63</sup> ibid p.14

On my site, the landlords have not spent a penny for 60 years. I am a retired clerk of works and maintenance officer. As far as repairs go, the site has to be seen to appreciate how much disrepair it is in at present. It is a disgrace.<sup>64</sup>

Matters came to a head in 1997, when the remaining 150 hutters went on strike over a hike in rents.<sup>65</sup> Barns-Graham said charges had only risen by 26% whilst the hutters said rent had doubled and more in many cases.<sup>66</sup> The result was a standoff, led by Tommy Kirkwood, a former shipyard worker, leading member of the hutters' association and director of the community company. His words, in a contemporary newspaper account, linked the rent-striking hutters of 1997 with the socialist outlook of the site's original founder;

I don't think Barns-Graham realised that a lot of the people up here were very politically minded. I was a member of the Scottish Socialist Party, and there were people here from the Scottish Communists and the British Communist Party. They weren't likely to stand for being ordered around by a landlord.<sup>67</sup>

A bitter clash of wills followed. Hutters Bill and Margaret McQueen were taken to court. They appealed, but lost and could not pay costs. Bill, 70, was made bankrupt and their hut was one of many that mysteriously burned down.<sup>68</sup>

On 30 October 1999, Billy Coote and his partner Donna Russell, were at a Halloween dance enjoying themselves, oblivious to the fact their hut at Carbeth was being burnt to the ground. They were devastated. Not only had the hut, built by Billy's father, been destroyed - their beloved dog Chips had been trapped inside and

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<sup>64</sup> Scottish Parliament, Justice and Home Affairs Committee 26 October 1999 Column 235. <https://archive.parliament.scot/business/committees/historic/x-justice/or-99/ju99-0702.htm> Hutter Bill McQueen also said; "The rent was 10 shillings before the war. After the war, in 1948, it was £1. It was £5 in 1958, after the grandfather of the present landlord died. The rents have risen by over 13 per cent yearly until 1996. The rent was £529 in 1996; they are to go up to £888 in 1997. We also pay a non-domestic taxation rate of approximately £140 or £150."

<sup>65</sup> ibid p.14

<sup>66</sup> <https://archive.parliament.scot/business/committees/historic/x-justice/or-99/ju99-0702.htm> Column 244

<sup>67</sup> *Herald* magazine 7.6.2011

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

was burnt alive.<sup>69</sup>

Other hutters were taken to court by the estate, and two more huts belonging to leading strikers were also burned down. Another resident, poet Gerry Loose, said: "That was the worry – you would be thinking: 'Will my hut still be standing or will someone think: this is a Bolshie wee bastard, let's teach him a lesson?'"<sup>70</sup>

Discovering they had no rights as tenants because they were only temporary occupants of the huts (a legal distinction that does not seem to apply to occasional tenants in Norway or anywhere else), hutter Chris Ballance and others petitioned the Justice Committee of the newly formed Scottish Parliament in 1999 to change the law and give security of tenure and rent control to hutters (see footnote 26, page 9). This prompted the Scottish Parliament to commission the first ever survey of huts in Scotland – undertaken by a researcher, Hugh Gentleman.<sup>71</sup> (see section 7.3, page 234). Ballance told the committee Allan Barns-Graham had wound up the original Trust around 1990, in a bid to get around a clause in his grandfather's will which stipulated Carbeth should not be feued or leased in any way that might interfere with the rights of traditional hutters. According to evidence given to the Justice Committee by Bill McQueen;

We received two letters (in 1993), one in the morning post and the other in the afternoon. The first letter said great changes would be made to the Carbeth estate but we had to sign the new lease. The letter received in the afternoon post said our tenancies were terminated, so if we did not sign the new lease we would be evicted. We had no option; we either walked away from our huts or signed the lease.<sup>72</sup>

The changes had a dramatic impact on security of tenure at Carbeth. If hutters were unable to sell their huts to someone approved by the landlord within 40 days, the landlord could take possession of the hut without paying

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<sup>69</sup> C. Ballance and G. Loose, *The fire that never went out*. Self-published booklet, 2000. p.7

<sup>70</sup> ibid

<sup>71</sup> Gentleman, *Huts and Hutters*.

<https://www.chrissmithonline.co.uk/files/huts-and-hutters-in-scotland---1999-draft-research-materials.pdf>

<sup>72</sup> Scottish Parliament, Justice and Home Affairs Committee 26 October 1999 Column 241

any compensation – even though many hutters had been there for fifty years and had made fifty years' worth of repairs.<sup>73</sup> But the Justice Committee decided not to intervene with new legislation. With the discovery of only 600 huts in Scotland, the Scottish Executive decided the problems relating to hutting tenancies were too limited to warrant a law change.<sup>74</sup> (see p219) In a letter Holyrood's Deputy Justice Minister wrote;

The Executive's underlying position is that it would not be appropriate to seek to intervene in private negotiations between landlord and tenants. We would be extremely reluctant to undertake anything to jeopardise the negotiations at Carbeth and therefore do not think rent control or compulsory arbitration would facilitate resolution at this stage. It is a well-accepted principle of legal policy that legislation ought not to be retrospective.<sup>75</sup>

Hugh Henry went on to say that Gentleman's research suggested dissatisfaction existed in only two of the 37 sites; that annual rolling leases without provision for rent review "operate perfectly satisfactorily in many circumstances" and that hopes of greater protection for hutters, "do not make the terms of the original contract unfair."<sup>76</sup> He also asserted that legislation could damage the interests of hutters if estate owners "terminate leases because of concerns about security of tenure or rent control... or even sell their estate."<sup>77</sup> As the Vice Chairman of the Carbeth Hutters said at the time; "How pathetic ... they can't legislate to protect the hut owners. After all, we elected a Scottish Parliament to change outdated laws."<sup>78</sup>

But although the new Scottish Parliament failed to help the hutters at Carbeth, the local council did. In 2001, hutters successfully lobbied Stirling

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid, column 244; Ballance observes that he applied to sell his hut and the estate said a transfer charge of £1,500 or £1,750 would be applied to it because it was in a particularly nice spot. "That meant someone who bought the hut for perhaps £1,250 would then have to pay a further £1,500 or £1,750 to the estate."

<sup>74</sup> Letter from Deputy Justice Minister Hugh Henry to Pauline McNeill MSP. 3.2.2004

<sup>75</sup> ibid

<sup>76</sup> ibid

<sup>77</sup> Letter Hugh Henry, 3.2.2004

<sup>78</sup> William McQueen, VC Carbeth Hutters Association letter to members of the Scottish Parliament, 23.2.2004

Council to award the hutting community conservation area status and even though the hutters had no tenants' rights, the council's intervention deterred rival bidders for the land.<sup>79</sup> In her Area Character Appraisal, Stirling Council researcher Fiona Jamieson declared the Carbeth huts to be "unique in Scotland and significant in European terms." This persuaded the Council to designate each hut as a conservation area, which effectively saved them since no-one wanted to buy land with huts that couldn't be demolished. Ironically, it was their makeshift and shabby appearance that finally saved the huts at Carbeth<sup>80</sup>;

The Huts represent a unique type of "arcadia" from the 1930s and 40s and have a group value in their own right. Being hand-made as opposed to constructed from ready-made factory components, the huts have a natural if sometimes rickety charm and piecemeal appearance, which sets them apart from modern chalet-type developments. They evince a back-to-basic ethic and magpie evolution. Only by maintaining the continuity in the scale and style of building and by ensuring replacement huts reflect the variety and individuality of their owners, can the character of the area be preserved. Individually they would not merit attention, but collectively they are of architectural and historic interest".<sup>81</sup>

According to the Cambridge Dictionary, "arcadia" describes "a mountainous region of ancient Greece," and "a real or imaginary place offering peace and simplicity." Fiona Jamieson's decision to attach such architectural and historic significance to the huts at Carbeth, reversed half a century of planning hostility towards un-planned, self-built shanties.<sup>82</sup> But the conservation designation had another more immediate consequence - it stopped development plans by Barns-Graham. Huts were now protected against demolition, but bad feeling between landowner and hutters persisted. Eight years of fruitless meetings between the two sides followed.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Jamieson, *Carbeth Character Appraisal*.

<sup>80</sup> ibid p.39.

<sup>81</sup> Environmental Quality Committee, Stirling Council. Minutes, 8 Feb 2001 .

<sup>82</sup> S. Szczelkun, *The Conspiracy of Good Taste via* <http://stefan-szczelkun.blogspot.com/2017/12/the-conspiracy-of-good-taste-25-year.html> p46 London 2016

<sup>83</sup> Jamieson, *Carbeth Character Appraisal*, p10.



**Figure 6.8 Carbeth hut 2010**

Eventually, in 2009, something changed. The hutters say it happened after Barns-Graham remarried. The landowner himself praised the common sense of Gerry Loose, a hutter, writer and artist who “mixed amiability with iron determination,” and joined Barns-Graham for talks around his kitchen table in a powerful echo of the rapport that developed between William Ferris and ABG Senior some eighty years earlier.<sup>84</sup> In October 2009 the landowner suggested the hutters could buy the site, and have a legal agreement to manage it while they raised the money. A price of £1.75m was agreed which was finally paid in 2013 through a combination of grants, public donations and a sizeable commercial loan from Triodos Bank which is still being repaid.<sup>85</sup> After almost a century, the hutters had finally secured Carbeth for hutting in perpetuity.

Like Lindøya so many decades earlier, Carbeth seems to have survived because of the organizational ability of its hutters within a single Vel-like body which lobbied the authorities effectively – although Carbeth’s saviour was not the new Scottish Parliament, but the sympathetic and quick-thinking local council -- exactly the reverse of the situation in Norway.

No other hutting community in Scotland was able to follow Carbeth’s example, buy their land and reach the safety of ownership – just as no new hutting island was created after the Inner Oslo hutting islands in 1922. In their

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<sup>84</sup> *Herald* magazine 7.6.2011

<sup>85</sup> A loan from Triodos bank eventually made the buy-out possible after years of fundraising. <https://www.theguardian.com/uk/scotland-blog/2013/mar/20/scotland-carbeth-hutters-buyout>. Accessed May 2015.

different ways, both case studies are actually quite atypical of hutting sites in their respective countries, as the following chapters illustrate. In Norway, hutting growth occurred on individual plots not communal sites like Lindøya. In Scotland, most other large hutting sites experienced mass eviction, demolition or conversion into caravan sites and the enduring problem of obtaining small plots of land meant individual huts completely failed to materialise.



## Chapter Seven - Other hutting communities in Britain

Other hutting communities developed across Scotland and the south of England around the same time as Carbeth.

### 7.1 The Plotlanders

The “plotlands” - a large area of tiny sub-divided sites with self-built huts - developed over a seventy-year period in the south of England, starting with the agricultural depression of the 1870s and spreading slowly until a peak of activity in the 1920s and 1930s, before growth was brought to an abrupt halt by the Second World War and subsequent planning regulation.<sup>1</sup>

The first factor facilitating the plotlands was the decline of agricultural prices because of increasing reliance on imports from British colonies and the impact of Lloyd George’s redistributive budget of 1908, which led to a quarter of land in England changing hands during the period 1918-1922 (with similarly profound changes in Scotland, (see footnote 49; page 40).<sup>2</sup> A lot of this marginal land was sold to speculators for development but areas like South Essex, with its heavy clay soil, Dungeness on the South coast with its saltmarsh, and Canvey Island on the Thames with drained marshland all came into the hands of land agents who subdivided them into rectangular plots for sale.<sup>3</sup>

The second factor was the overcrowding and pollution of the major cities. Moralists like Richard Jefferies, author of the apocalyptic *After London*, saw the city as a deeply corrupting influence, which should be escaped at all costs.<sup>4</sup> Jack London in *People of the Abyss*, painted a picture of the London working class dropping like flies, needing replacement by sturdy immigrants from the countryside.<sup>5</sup> Parts of the workers’ movement (described earlier) saw the resettlement of land as the only real solution for poverty and regular

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<sup>1</sup> Hardy and Ward *Arcadia for All*, pp. 18-25.

<sup>2</sup> Szczelkun, *The Conspiracy of Good Taste*, p.46.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p.46.

<sup>4</sup> R. Jefferies, *After London* first published 1885 Book Jungle (4 July 2008) passim

<sup>5</sup> J. London, ‘People of the Abyss’ originally published 1903 Echo Library (1 Jan. 2007) passim

unemployment.<sup>6</sup> Campaigns led to the progressive reduction of the working week, rent controls and, when the dire shortage of housing encouraged many returning soldiers to take matters into their own hands and erect makeshift shanties, the creation of smallholdings across the country after the Addison Act of 1919. The rise of building societies offered a new source of housing finance to better paid workers in regular employment, but for those excluded from the drive to own property, "a little shack in the Essex plotlands might achieve what had become the mystical objective of acquiring a home of one's own."<sup>7</sup>

The third factor was the development of mass transport. Once steamers established the Thames estuary towns of Southend and Margate as venues for mass tourism, railways followed. This was the origin of the South Essex plotlands, with Laindon and Pitsea on the London to Southend line, and the stop at South Benfleet giving access, albeit via a ferry, or stepping-stones at low tide, to Canvey Island.<sup>8</sup> In the case of the inter-war plotlands, the car opened up new possibilities.<sup>9</sup>

The final factor was the absence of strict planning rules and enforcement of existing regulations which attracted all sorts of individuals and entrepreneurs. At Canvey Island, Frederick Hester promised; 'to meet the requirements of London's teeming and toiling millions' with a grand and immediate transformation'.<sup>10</sup> Hester's plans included a tramway, with carriages marked 'Venice-on-Sea and Canvey', and a Wintergarten which was to be 'an elegant glass structure, planted with choice fruit trees, flowering shrubs, and climbers, intersecting the whole island'. Building did begin, but Hester was declared bankrupt in 1905, and the tramway and gardens were dismantled.

Another entrepreneur was Leith born David Ogg, a marine engineer, apparently shipwrecked three times before settling in London to run a pub in the Poplar area of London's east-end. He accepted plotland receipts to clear bad

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<sup>6</sup> J. Belchem, *Popular Radicalism in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, (New York: Palgrave, 1996)

<sup>7</sup> Hardy and Ward *Arcadia for All*, pp. 16-18.

<sup>8</sup> The Plotlands Experience: Self-Build Settlements of Southeast England 2003, OASE 59

<sup>9</sup> Hardy and Ward *Arcadia for All*, pp. 22-24.

<sup>10</sup> A. Daly, *The History of Canvey Island*, 1903, quoted in Hardy & Ward, pp. 120-22.

debts, and ended up owning several sites on Canvey Island building his own grand hut complete with wagon (or carriage) supporting a balcony. (Fig 7.1)<sup>11</sup>



**Figure 7.1 The Oggs' Lodge on Canvey**

Perhaps because of question-marks over the credit-worthiness of developers, the plotlands quickly developed an eccentric and individual character of their own. Some owners grew flowers and shrubs; others kept goats, geese, chickens and bees, or grew fruits and vegetables, enabling a number of inhabitants to be virtually self-sufficient during the Second World War. The natural diversity of the plotlands was further enhanced by undeveloped plots, which created a 'makeshift landscape'. In a foretaste of what was to come though, one town planner failed to see this as a diverse ecological mix, and instead observed: 'A half-finished building estate is a depressing place, but infinitely worse is the estate that obviously will never get finished'.<sup>12</sup> While residents were deeply attached to their plots, other users of the countryside were horrified, particularly those with a proprietorial attitude to landscape like the National Trust, Council for the Preservation of Rural England, William Morris' Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings and the Pure Rivers Society.<sup>13</sup> As Pierre Bourdieu observed such entitled groups seemed to have;

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<sup>11</sup> R.A. Hallmann, *A Dynasty of Oggs* via [www.canveyisland.org](http://www.canveyisland.org) Accessed November 2016

<sup>12</sup> C. Buchanan, 'Mixed Blessing' 1958, quoted by Hardy & Ward 1984, p.193

<sup>13</sup> Szczelkun, *The Conspiracy of Good Taste* p.47.

... an obsessive fear of number, of undifferentiated hordes, indifferent to difference and constantly threatening to submerge the private spaces of bourgeois exclusiveness.<sup>14</sup>

In the late 1930s there was support for a 'Ministry of Amenities', a new Government department with a watching brief over "our visual background," which prompted the Scott Report, whose wide brief was to review physical, social and economic development in the countryside.<sup>15</sup> Plotland landscapes were described as; "nameless messes... which have spoilt many a once-charming stretch of coastline" but the problem was not deemed a post-war priority. It did however set the frame for making farming the principal, protected pursuit of the countryside and concentrating all human development in cities.

It was strongly believed that urban development represented the major threat to the quality of a countryside whose character depended on a prosperous agricultural sector... which was also seen as the only way to preserve the traditional appearance of the countryside.<sup>16</sup>

Another government-commissioned wartime survey of coastline was conducted by the Cambridge geographer J.A Steers and focused more closely on the plotlands. He described Canvey as 'an abomination.... a town of shacks and rubbish.... it caters for a particular class of people, and short of total destruction and a new start, little if anything can be done'.<sup>17</sup> According to Hardy and Ward, genuine concern over the changing balance between public v private amenity did exist, but class was the main driver of hostility towards the Plotlanders.

The Thames, with Eton, Windsor and Henley on its banks, must have seemed the undisputed sanctuary of a privileged caste. Suddenly, to find greengrocers from Acton and printers from Fulham making free with their 'squalid little huts', must have raised blood pressure to dangerous levels.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> P. Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Paris 1979) p.469

<sup>15</sup> Hardy & Ward pp 49-50

<sup>16</sup> I. Hodge, Countryside Planning in J. B. Cullingworth, *British Planning: 50 Years of Urban and Regional Policy* (London: Routledge, 1999), p.91.

<sup>17</sup> J.A. Steers, 'Report on the East Anglian Coast: Hunstanton to East Tilbury'. Public Record Office, 1943 in Hardy & Ward, 1984 p.120.

<sup>18</sup> Hardy and Ward *Arcadia for All*, p.185.

The capacity for self-organisation exhibited by the hutters must have heightened those feelings of alarm. "The organisation and fighting spirit of places such as Jaywick was almost legendary."<sup>19</sup> There was hostility too from self-appointed arbiters of taste like naturalist and prolific author, Ronald Lockley;

All is changed today in the English (and most of the Welsh and Scottish) sea-villages. As the politicians say, the 'danger of proletarianism is near.' Nothing but a dictatorship will save the English coast in our time ... when the millennium arrives, when battleships are turned into floating world-cruising universities, perhaps their guns, as a last act before being spiked, will be allowed to blow to dust the hideous, continuous and disfiguring chain of hotels, houses and huts which by then will have completely encircled these islands.<sup>20</sup>

Councils tended to hinder the viability of the plotlands, by withholding or delaying services or infrastructure. Thus, many houses were without water, drainage or gas for several decades. Despite the council rates owners paid, it took them years to achieve even basic services. Roads and flood defences were only installed when plotlanders agreed to pay a significant portion of the costs, apparently to deter future demands for other council services like street lighting.<sup>21</sup> But conflict with the authorities, and the general absence of facilities other than a few water standpipes, a shop and maybe a station hotel, all helped unite plotlanders into active, self-managing communities.

Community was built out of the shared hedonism of the summer holidays and a shared determination to overcome the brute necessities of the plotlands out of season, when coal trucks were unable to deliver in winter, or the only access to water was via a standpipe at the end of the road.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Szczelkun, *Conspiracy of Good Taste*, p48; Charges to join the Jaywick Residents Association were expensive (£40 per year for full time residents in 1932) which included services like street lighting and a nightly patrol with dogs.

<sup>20</sup> R.M. Lockley, quoted by Szczelkun, *Conspiracy of Good Taste*, p.48.

<sup>21</sup> Hardy and Ward *Arcadia for All*, p.281.

<sup>22</sup> ibid pp. 51.

The Second World War and its wake proved a decisive turning-point in the history of the plotlands. With the aerial bombing of London in 1940, many EastEnders moved to their “shanty” homes to escape danger and supplement rations with homegrown produce. But access to coastal plotlands like Jaywick Sands was quickly restricted, as a defence strategy against seaborne invasion. So, during the war years some plotlands became ghost towns whilst others “became virtually urban in their intensity of use”.<sup>23</sup>

Ironically though, it was the triumph of the Labour Party in the 1945 General Election that banged the first nail into the coffin of these makeshift workers’ communities. After the Second World War, abandoned army camps and vacant seaside properties were taken over by squatters during the ‘Vigilante campaign’, as committees of ex-servicemen, installed homeless families and their furniture in unoccupied houses under cover of night.<sup>24</sup> Absentee property-owners were slow to start legal proceedings and by 1946, government figures revealed that 1,038 recently-vacated military camps in England and Wales were occupied by 39,535 people organising their own communal services, along with 4,000 people squatting in camps in Scotland.<sup>25</sup> Minister of Health, Aneurin Bevan instructed councils to cut off supplies of gas and electricity to the camps, but local authorities were already directing desperate homeless families towards them. Described in the press as a ‘communist stunt’, the wave of squatting ended with injunctions, evictions and a few compromise solutions between authorities and camp settlers.<sup>26</sup>

The Scott and Steers reports denounced the plotlands as a form of rural blight, and Labour’s new peacetime government, reflecting the recent wartime tendency towards centralisation and planning, was determined to act. A file ominously named, *Removal of Shacks*, mapped out ideas for dealing with ‘shacks and other sub-standard development,’ which were, “a national menace and a

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<sup>23</sup> Hardy & Ward 1984 p152

<sup>24</sup> B. Lund, *Housing Politics in the United Kingdom: Power, Planning and Protest* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2016) p.1.

<sup>25</sup> Ward C *Cotters and Squatters: The Hidden History of Housing* (Nottingham 2002), p.159

<sup>26</sup> ibid p.160.

local disgrace.’<sup>27</sup> One civil servant drew attention to the wastefulness of ‘shack blight’ when the land could be used for much-needed food production. All of this, along with political pressure for new public housing informed the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act, which enacted principles espoused by Ebenezer Howard’s Garden City movement.<sup>28</sup> Urban spread would be limited by rural Green Belts restricting development, and a wave of new town construction initiated beyond them. Local and central government were handed new tools to pursue their antipathy to the plotlands, blocking the creation of new plots and subjecting existing ones to removal, transformation or preservation -- depending on the degree of official hostility.

The Act introduced compulsory purchase powers, which were used by councils in places like Shoreham Beach to clear up the substantial war damage and overcome the likelihood of more “untidy and unsightly” piecemeal development.<sup>29</sup> Although many County Councils bitterly resisted central government designation of New Town sites, Essex County Council effectively killed two birds with one stone by locating Basildon New Town on the plotlands of Pitsea and Laindon. Building began in 1952 after compulsory purchase orders were used to clear plotlanders off their sites.<sup>30</sup> The general principal was to offer a newly built house in Basildon New Town to anyone vacating their own self-built home. Whether through sensitivity or meanness on the part of the authorities, older plotlanders were left relatively undisturbed. It seems waiting for the death of elderly hatters was the easiest way to repossess land.

Some plotlanders were able to upgrade their huts into permanent homes because they owned the land. Ward observes that hutting settlements in Scotland lacked that security provided by land ownership or long leases and, therefore, were easily “extinguished” without trace.<sup>31</sup>

Laindon Hills survived as a site for weekend homes until the 1980s when it was designated as a country park, and the council refused permission for

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<sup>27</sup> Ministry file *Removal of Shacks etc* Public Record File HLG/92/81 (ref 91647/15/2 April 1946

<sup>28</sup> P. Hall and C. Ward, *Sociable Cities: The Legacy of Ebeneezer Howard*, (London: 1999), pp. 50-55.

<sup>29</sup> Hardy and Ward *Arcadia for All*, p. 97.

<sup>30</sup> ibid pp. 203-209.5

<sup>31</sup> Hardy and Ward *Arcadia for All*, p.97.

alterations or extensions to huts. Progressively abandoned, the site ‘returned’ to a natural state, and is now mixed woodland with one house. Thus, within two decades the self-built plotland settlements were mostly cleared.<sup>32</sup>

## 7.2 Allotments

The history of allotments in Scotland seems to mirror the history of huts; both were bedevilled by insecurity of tenure and unloved by the authorities because of their ramshackle physical appearance and hard to organise owners. Plots were generally handed out during times of war, when growing vegetables was a praiseworthy and patriotic activity, but then taken back by local authority owners in peacetime on the grounds that housing for the many should not be blocked by allotments for the few.<sup>33</sup>

Allotments in England developed as a response to post-enclosure rural poverty, through a curious fusion of philanthropic efforts and labourer land- rights activism. As the model caught on in the nineteenth century, employers and landowners often provided allotments to ‘deserving’ labourers, effectively rewarding and controlling their behaviour with ‘gifts which might be ropes’. <sup>34</sup>

Despite these rural origins, allotments in England soon shifted to industrial centres as a result of the first Allotments Act (1887) passed after pressure from candidates elected on an ‘allotments platform’. By the end of the century, allotments were part of debates about Garden City planning and rational recreation - in England. But Scotland was perceived to be lagging behind. In fact, agricultural workers in Scotland already had some places to grow vegetables; farmers often gave workers ‘potato ground’; mining cottages usually included attached gardens; and the pendicle system linked tenanted cottages with detached parcels of arable land. A Commons inquiry in 1889 heard allotments in rural Scotland were regarded as a ‘novel idea’, because of

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<sup>32</sup> Hall and C. Ward, *Sociable Cities*, p.197

<sup>33</sup> C.O. DeSilvey, *When Plotters Meet’: Edinburgh’s Allotment Movement 1921-2001*-page vi  
Edinburgh 2001

<sup>34</sup> ibid p.1.

higher wages among agricultural labourers; the general unavailability of land; unfamiliarity with the system's potential benefits and "a preference for wage labour over self-provision". Despite this apparent indifference to allotments, Parliament extended the provisions of English legislation to Scotland with the Allotments (Scotland) Act 1892, which obliged local authorities to provide allotments for the 'labouring population' if six or more ratepayers came forward with a request.<sup>35</sup> A year after the Act's passage though, nothing much had happened. "A few local authorities received applications from interested citizens, but lacked the resources (and perhaps the will) to carry out what they called the government's experiment".<sup>36</sup>

The first informal plots had already been established during the early 1880s by the father of town planning, Patrick Geddes, whose Environment Society planted trees and created small gardens in Old Town slums.<sup>37</sup> His Open Spaces Committee, found 76 open spaces, 'awaiting reclamation' and he redesigned these 'slum gardens' as spaces for communal cultivation.<sup>38</sup> The North British Railway Company followed, establishing thirty-six plots for staff on wasteland near Portobello in 1912.<sup>39</sup> One of the first self-organised groups to use the 1892 legislation was the Edinburgh Allotment Holders' Association, perhaps influenced by Geddes' earlier work in the Old Town. By 1916, almost twelve acres were being managed as allotments under joint Corporation-Association control.

The situation was transformed by the need for self-sufficiency during the First World War. In the year after the Cultivation of Land Order (1917), 3,000 tons of food were produced on Edinburgh's allotments and by the war's end, 3,400 allotment holders were cultivating over 200 acres of former wasteland and parkland.<sup>40</sup> But once the national emergency had passed, house building

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<sup>35</sup> ibid p.2.

<sup>36</sup> ibid p.3.

<sup>37</sup> Meller, *Patrick Geddes*.

<sup>38</sup> Geddes (1949) On the outskirts of Edinburgh his 'Vacant Lands Cultivation Scheme', found a further 450 unused acres.

<sup>39</sup> H. McDaid H and L. Reid, Portobello East Junction Allotments, self published booklet (2000)

<sup>40</sup> ECA, File 144/1 DRT 14 (Public Parks Committee), 12 June 1919.

became the priority and allotment holders soon faced dispossession.

Edinburgh's Town Clerk described the dilemma:

On the one hand, most allotment-holders are desirous of retaining their plots and securing fixity of tenure. They have ... found by experience the benefit of having a supply of fresh vegetables, and have also discovered the advantages from a health point of view of this form of recreation. On the other hand, now the war is over ... some owners of ground [wish to] have possession or a reasonable rent; and certain areas are urgently required for housing schemes and industrial development. It is extremely difficult to find other ground for allotment-holders who have to be dispossessed.<sup>41</sup>

Nonetheless, the same post-war housing pressure in Oslo and other Nordic cities did not result in the same rate of allotment dispossession, even though Norwegian plots were larger to accommodate habitable huts. In Scotland and the UK, by contrast, a prohibition on overnight stays was built into the 1902 legislation and remains there still.

In Edinburgh, between 1920 and 1930 the number of allotment plots dropped from 5,000 to 1,900.<sup>42</sup> The fate of allotments in Edinburgh's east end was instructive. During World War One, a 'dumping ground for refuse' in the King's Park (east of Holyrood Palace), was turned into seventeen acres of allotments. This was regarded as a moral patriotic activity during the war, but by 1919 perceptions had changed.<sup>43</sup> When the Cultivation of Land Order lapsed in 1921, allotment owners were essentially evicted from their plots.<sup>44</sup> An official at HM Office of Works later explained; 'it was impossible to defend the continued alienation of portions of the ground for the benefit of a comparatively few local residents'. The decline in numbers was not just caused by land-hungry councils. The urban poor could not afford to buy seed and garden tools because of mass unemployment and there was a strong belief that allotment ownership would lead to the loss of unemployment benefit. There was also the familiar

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<sup>41</sup> ECA, File J20/8, Report by the Town Clerk in regard to Statutory Provisions Relating to Garden Allotments, February 1920.

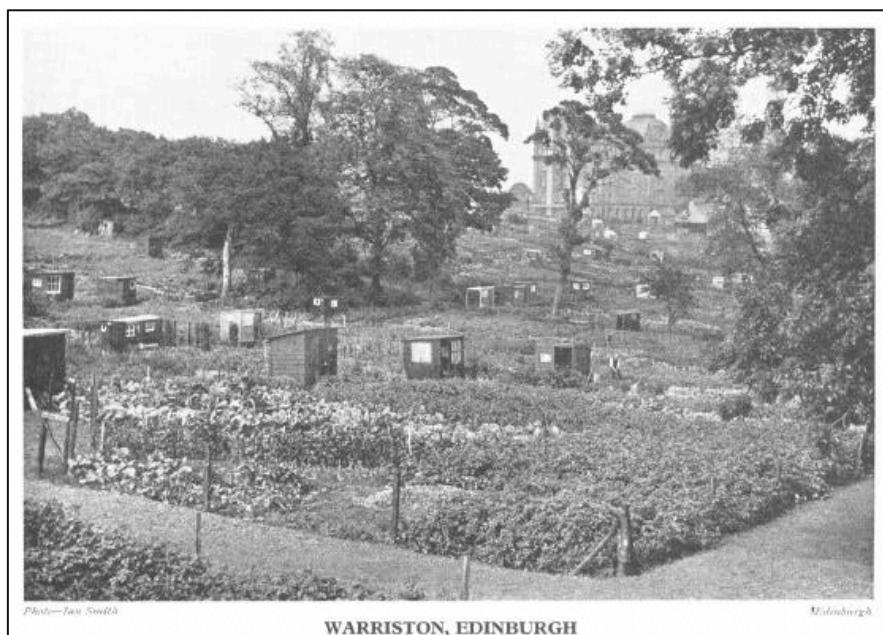
<sup>42</sup> NAS, AF 43/352, Minutes of proceedings for Agricultural Land (Utilization) Bill 1930, Allotments Conference, 22 November 1930.

<sup>43</sup> ECA, File 144/1 DRT 14 (Public Parks Committee), Statement read by Mr Ridley, Federation Secretary, at interview with Parks Committee, 12 June 1919

<sup>44</sup> NAS, AF 66/100, Decision of the Home Affairs Committee, 27 April 1921

aesthetic problem; ‘allotments can hardly fail to be a disfigurement of an open space such as the Kings Parks.’<sup>45</sup> For all these reasons, Edinburgh’s allotment provision was just one third of its wartime peak by 1929.

That year the Edinburgh Federation approached the Council’s Garden Allotments Committee acknowledging that; “until there is a great improvement in the appearance of allotments there will be a large body of public opinion against them.”<sup>46</sup> The Federation proposed a model allotment where owners would keep their plots—edged with stone or hedges—in a ‘first-class condition’. A communal hut with lockers would provide storage and preclude the need for ‘unsightly erections.’ A border of trees and flowering shrubs would give the site a pleasing appearance. (See footnote 75, page 157, about the same process of gentrification amongst the early hutters on Lindøya.)



**Figure 7.2 Edinburgh’s Warriston Allotments, 1933.** <sup>47</sup>

As Caitlin DeSilvey notes;

<sup>45</sup> NAS, AF 66/100, Draft Official Letter from the Office of Works, Westminster to the Under-secretary for Scotland, March 1932.

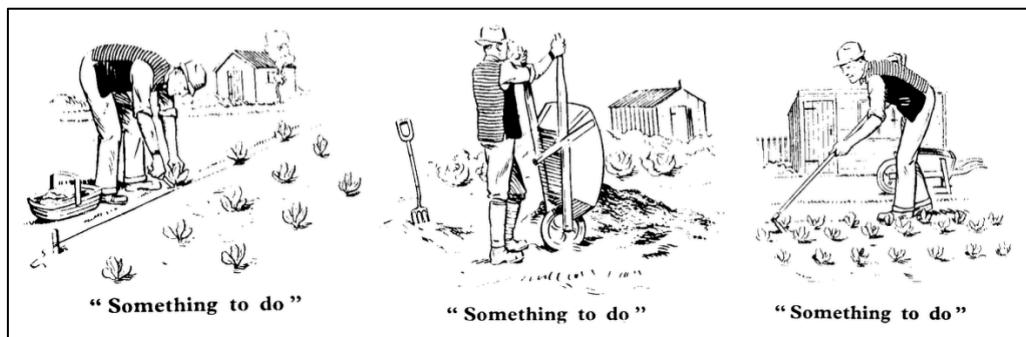
<sup>46</sup> ECA, File 144/1 DRT 14 (Public Parks Committee), Letter to the Edinburgh Town Clerk from the Edinburgh and Leith Federation of Garden Allotment Associations, 12 April 1929.

<sup>47</sup> Scottish Allotments Scheme for the Unemployed, Report for Season 1934. Scottish Allotments and Gardens Society-Victor Webb Archive, Glasgow University Archive Services.

With this proposal, the Federation tried to break out of a curious ‘Catch-22 situation’: insecurity of tenure led to plot vacancies. As a result, allotments presented a chaotic and unkempt face to the public. The public was then unlikely to support municipal investment to secure the continued presence of what they perceived as an ‘eyesore’.<sup>48</sup>

Despite all their efforts, the proposal for model allotments was rejected.<sup>49</sup> By 1932, however, Scotland’s unemployment rate had reached 27.7% and the Scottish Allotment Scheme for the Unemployed (SASU) was devised as a means of encouraging the “deserving poor”. Unemployed men got a discount on the cost of seeds, seed potatoes, fertilisers, and tools and reduced rent on a plot. It was hoped, the ‘physical, mental, and moral stimulus of productive work would help keep them fit for whenever the happy call to resume regular employment may come’.<sup>50</sup> By 1934, a total of seventy-four arable acres—in Granton, Warriston, West Mains, and Saughton—had been turned over to the scheme. A newspaper reporter visiting West Mains allotments found a large number of men busy at their plots;

If there was tragedy it was ... seeing so many of what appeared to be the best type of worker without employment. Something to occupy mind and muscle. This was better—infinitely better—than walking the streets at a loose end.<sup>51</sup>



**Figure 7.3 Men planting, hauling, and hoeing in SASU scheme 1936<sup>52</sup>**

<sup>48</sup> C. O. DeSilvey, *When Plotters Meet': Edinburgh's Allotment Movement 1921-2001* Masters diss. Edinburgh, 2001. p.23.

<sup>49</sup> ECA, File 186 DRT 14 (Public Parks Committee), Minutes of the Garden Allotments Committee, 18 April 1929

<sup>50</sup> NAS, AF 66/96, Letter to the Editor, *Scotsman*, from JG Roberts, Secretary, Barrhead Allotments Association, 26 November 1931.

<sup>51</sup> *Scotsman*, 27 April 1932,

<sup>52</sup> Scottish Allotments Scheme for the Unemployed, Report for Season 1936. SAGS-Victor Webb Archive, Glasgow University Archive Services.

Still, the SASU suffered from a lack of enthusiasm north of the border. The main difficulty seemed to be a sense of antagonism amongst angry, unemployed workers, towards any project designed to provide an 'outlet' for them. A broadcast by the Prime Minister was suggested and the Department of Agriculture for Scotland submitted this draft script to the Scottish Office:

To cultivate a garden as a way of beguiling enforced leisure seems to come more as a novel and unfamiliar suggestion to the Scotsman than to Englishmen. Perhaps this is because the direct ways of thought habitual to my countrymen can only associate the use of tools and instruments with the production of some external object of recognised utility. But I am sure that any wise physician of the mind would recommend to all the victims of this malady, the healing influence of productive work for its own sake—if they are to escape falling into a settled temper of dull apathy or furious exasperation. And in recommending these avenues of escape for mind and body we do not wish to give any impression that such counsel exonerates the community from directing its thoughts and efforts to a permanent solution of our social and economic difficulties.<sup>53</sup>

Now that official attitudes had changed, allotment leaders tried to capitalise on fear of violence in order to put the gardens on a firmer footing. In July 1932, Archibald Fischer, Secretary of the Scottish National Union of Allotment Holders (SNUAH) warned the Government that unemployed men were; "easy prey to Red and Communistic agitators and much insidious harm is being done in this direction against which the Allotment Movement could be a strong counteracting influence if developed on scale."<sup>54</sup> Further development did not happen, but the SASU scheme managed to frame the allotment as a moral landscape where the 'better sort of working man' could experience the 'healing influence of productive work'.<sup>55</sup> It also introduced hundreds of people to allotments, many of whom became the core of the "Dig for Victory" effort

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<sup>53</sup> NAS, AF 66/96, Correspondence between Department of Agriculture for Scotland & Scottish Office

<sup>54</sup> NAS, AF 66/96, Letter from Archibald Fischer to Secretary of State for Scotland, 8 July 1932.

<sup>55</sup> NAS, AF 66/96, Correspondence between Department of Agriculture for Scotland and Scottish Office.

during World War II. At the end of those hostilities, the SNUAH did not wait for a declaration of peace. In October 1944, it sent a circular letter to Town Clerks pressing for security of tenure and stressing the allotment-holders contribution to the war effort. But once again, the need to build houses trumped the recreational claims of allotment holders. Leisure preferences had also changed. Food rationing ended in 1954, and the advent of television, supermarkets and restaurants, changed the way leisure time was being spent. Gardening was still popular, but allotments looked old-fashioned and in 1957, all government support for the allotment movement was ended.<sup>56</sup> During the 1960s, neglected sites were seen as easy targets by developers. Low rents encouraged businesses like car repairs, garages and even sawmills to set up on allotment sites – an abuse of letting conditions also experienced on hutting sites during that decade. By 1964, only 110 of the 170 acres listed in the 1953 Development Plan remained.<sup>57</sup> The Quinquennial Review of that plan anticipated that, 'demand should continue to fall away from its war-time peak as new leisure activities attract more people away from allotment-keeping.'<sup>58</sup> Meanwhile, plans to include allotments in new housing schemes had 'not proved to be practicable' and 1964 became 'one of the blackest [years] in the history of the Society.'<sup>59</sup> In 1965, A V Shade, the Secretary for the Edinburgh Federation tried to re-label allotments as "leisure gardens" on the grounds that "allotments" conjure up "a wrong impression upon people [who] immediately think of some piece of ground strewn with broken down huts and uncultivated plots".<sup>60</sup> Shade told the Edinburgh Town Clerk, that better facilities would 'attract and encourage the right type of person to our allotment areas.' Higher costs would also filter out

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<sup>56</sup> Thorpe, H 1969 Departmental Committee of Inquiry into Allotments. Cmnd., 4166: Parliamentary Papers, London

<sup>57</sup> ECA, File CA/30/1 DRT 14 (Civic Amenities Committee), Review of Garden Allotments to be included in the Quinquennial Review of the Development Plan, drafted 1963. The review notes 1508 Corporation plots, 1150 in permanent and 358 in temporary areas.

<sup>58</sup> ECA, File CA/30/1 DRT 14 (Civic Amenities Committee), Review of Garden Allotments to be included in the Quinquennial Review of the Development Plan, drafted 1963

<sup>59</sup> VWA, SAGS Conference Report, 1965

<sup>60</sup> ECA, File CA/30/1 DRT 14 (Civic Amenities Committee), Letter to Edinburgh Town Clerk from A V Shade, FEDAGA, 5 June 1965.

‘undesirable elements.’<sup>61</sup> This proposal for social engineering seems to have gone unheeded. A month later, the Superintendent of Parks proposed ‘large centres in the Green Belt’ to replace the “unsightly allotments” springing up in city parks.

Areas of at least 10 acres are envisaged as permanent allotments, with communal hut and toilets, glasshouses, and sheds, properly maintained roads and paths, fencing, hedging, and adequate water supply. Such centres, would be showpieces and an asset to the district’.<sup>62</sup>

The Corporation proposed three permanent centres in Edinburgh’s green belt where displaced allotment holders could take advantage of improved facilities while children played on nearby grass lawns.<sup>63</sup> It never happened. The City Chamberlain expressed concern that the ‘necessarily high rent’ to cover the development ‘would dissuade all but the most enthusiastic or affluent allotment holders’.<sup>64</sup> In the resulting stalemate, Edinburgh’s allotments continued to disappear. Between 1965 and 1968, 15 sites were lost. The eco-consciousness of the 1970s coaxed a new generation into allotment gardening and by 1976, enthusiasts had rented each of Edinburgh’s 1,020 allotment plots, with 300 people on the waiting list. Meanwhile in Denmark, a new law in 2007 stipulated there should be 10 gardens per 100 flats without a private garden. So today Copenhagen (with a population roughly similar to Edinburgh) has 17,000 plots while Edinburgh has just 1,300.

### 7.3 Hugh Gentleman’s research<sup>65</sup>

In 1999, the Scottish Executive received a petition from Carbeth hatters, asking for a change in the law to protect themselves and other hutting tenants from

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<sup>61</sup> ECA, File CA/30/1 DRT 14 (Civic Amenities Committee), Letter to the Town Clerk from Federation of Edinburgh and District Allotments and Gardens Associations, 29 November 1964

<sup>62</sup> ECA, File CA/30/1 DRT 14 (Civic Amenities Committee), Memo from the Superintendent of Parks to the Town Clerk, 29 December 1964.

<sup>63</sup> ECA, File CA/30/1 DRT 14 (Civic Amenities Committee), Memo to the Edinburgh Town Clerk from the Director of Parks and Recreation, 15 December 1965

<sup>64</sup> ECA, File CA/30/1 DRT 14 (Civic Amenities Committee), Memo from the City Chamberlain to the Town Clerk, 3 June 1968.

<sup>65</sup> See Appendix One p282

eviction.<sup>66</sup> The Executive commissioned a study to establish the scale of the problem and 18 months later, ‘Huts and Hutters in Scotland’ was produced.<sup>67</sup> In this report, researcher Hugh Gentleman investigated the size and distribution of every hut site in Scotland and created a detailed inventory, drawing on information from local councils, large-scale-map searches and Assessors’ Valuation Rolls. Planning departments seemed to know very little about the subject. Indeed 21 of Scotland’s 32 planning authorities said they had no sites -- at least four in error.<sup>68</sup> Doubtless, this reflects the fact most sites started operating before councils had any formal role in their regulation. Still, the “nil return” list included Moray Council who actually owned the land upon which 44 beach huts still stand. Gentleman also experienced difficulty trying to verify details by talking directly to hutters. The problems faced by this government-funded, professional researcher, illustrate both the unreliability of official records and the reluctance of insecure hut owners to discuss private arrangements with outsiders.<sup>69</sup> Nonetheless, Gentleman was able to identify a hutting belt from the Angus coast to the Clyde coast with extensions into the East Lothians, Borders and Solway. He noted no huts had been recorded to the west of the Clyde, southeast of Peebles, or northwest of a line between Stirling and Aberdeen, excluding the “bathing huts” at Hopeman in Moray and ex-hutting sites like Seton Sands, which were converted into a huge caravan park,

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<sup>66</sup> Scottish Parliament, Justice and Home Affairs Committee 26 October 1999 Column 235. <https://archive.parliament.scot/business/committees/historic/x-justice/or-99/ju99-0702.htm>

<sup>67</sup> Gentleman, *Huts and Hutters in Scotland 1999 draft research report material* was delivered in 2000 but not published due to “commercial sensitivity.” The full report was released by Research Consultancy Services via the Scottish Government Central Research Unit in response to a Freedom of Information request regarding this PhD in May 2012. The full report has been available since that date at <http://www.chrissmithonline.co.uk/files/huts-and-hutters-in-scotland---1999-draft-research-materials.pdf>. The executive summary is available on Scottish Government’s website; <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/156526/0042031.pdf>. Footnotes and page numbers hereafter refer to the full online report.

<sup>68</sup> Gentleman, 2000, p14. Whilst the Rent Registration Service recorded hutting sites in both North and South Ayrshire, each council initially maintained it had none. Dumfries and Galloway Council also made a nil return, but fifty functioning huts were subsequently located there.

<sup>69</sup> ibid p.120 “Sites were owned by individuals or organisations whose permission was necessary to visit private land or attempt to contact occupiers. For a variety of reasons this permission might not be forthcoming. At the same time [hut] occupiers themselves might be unwilling to participate depending on difficulties with the landlord or uncertainty about the underlying purpose of the interview.”

decades earlier. Gentleman found approximately 700 huts, across 62 locations - 35 of them with 2 or more huts and all "in reasonably close proximity to major urban centres." Carbeth had more than a quarter of the total (180 huts), three sites had around 50 huts each, ten sites had 10-20 huts and fifteen had 2-9 huts - with a further 27 individual huts. 87% of huts were located on sites of 10 or more huts – 3.8% were situated individually.<sup>70</sup> Information from Statistics Norway suggests precisely the opposite pattern developed in Norway, where more than 90% of huts are on individual plots, with just a tiny proportion on the *hytte* islands of Inner Oslo fjord. Gentleman undertook a second stage of research based on discussions with owners of the larger sites and a postal survey of hut owners/occupiers. This provided information about site regulations, occupiers and the way they used their huts -- but initially only a summary was published due to concerns about commercial confidentiality. In the full report, published in 2012, Gentleman scotched a few pervasive myths about the role of benevolent landowners which some, like Allan Barns Graham of Carbeth, had tried to scotch themselves. Gentleman revealed that hut sites were not "deliberately set up by well-meaning landlords in the 1920s, to benefit men returning from the first world war and for families from deprived inner-city areas."<sup>71</sup> Instead, with one exception, landowners had simply responded to requests from individual members of the public who wanted to put up huts for summer and weekend use – often in locations where "townies" had already been camping as part of large, organised groups during the Glasgow and other Trade Fair holidays.<sup>72</sup> Gentleman suggested most of the people requesting hut sites were "from lower income groups ... from fairly cramped tenements or similar housing."<sup>73</sup> He also notes the landowners most amenable to hutting "had land which was of little use for other purposes, [so] they were happy enough to let people be there and might even get a little rent for otherwise valueless ground" – a theory backed up the fact hutting sites were located "in very diverse

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<sup>70</sup> ibid p.18.

<sup>71</sup> ibid p.139.

<sup>72</sup> ibid p.25.

<sup>73</sup> ibid p.187

settings from the very edge of the foreshore, through coastal dunes, links and scrub land to hillsides of mixed woodland or open grassland.”<sup>74</sup> However, Gentleman himself also ascribed the growth of hutting to pressure from social and political movements;

In part the growth of hut sites in the 1930s may coincide with ... ideas of healthy living and ... the development of cycling clubs which looked for a base a convenient distance from the city for overnight stays at weekends.<sup>75</sup>

This analysis contradicts contemporary and recent newspaper coverage of hutting communities, which consistently repeats the narrative of landowner benevolence towards war veterans as the main reason for their existence;

Ever since they were first built as holiday homes for gassed and shell-shocked veterans of the First World War, the Barry huts have provided an idyllic hideaway for generations of Scottish city dwellers.”<sup>76</sup>

Bizarrely, this feature contains interviews with hutters in which they describe their grandparents' construction methods, yet the feature still concludes their huts were generously provided by the landowner. Another magazine feature about Barry Downs maintained that; “The blessing of benevolent lairds allowed amateur construction to take off.”<sup>77</sup> The daughter of the Barry Downs landowner became so irritated by the repeated inaccuracy, she wrote to the Scotsman in 2010 insisting; “The huts at The Downs, Barry were never in any way connected to war veterans returning home.”<sup>78</sup> There could have been confusion with the nearby Barry Buddon army camp, which was sold by Lord Panmure to the War Office in 1897 as a military training area. But clearly, any later inter-war rehabilitation work undertaken by the new state owners would not have been performed by benevolent landowners either.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> ibid p.189

<sup>75</sup> ibid p.139

<sup>76</sup> <https://www.scotsman.com/news/hutters-fury-over-demolition-plans-1-1365846>

<sup>77</sup> *Big Issue* Jan29-Feb4 2009

<sup>78</sup> Letter by Doreen Paton, *Scotsman* 02 May 2010

<sup>79</sup> [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/43345/dte\\_info\\_leaflet\\_scotland.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/43345/dte_info_leaflet_scotland.pdf) Defence Training Estates Scotland 2014. Accessed July 2017

Gentleman observed that “for the majority of hut sites, the precise date of origin is not known,” but they seem to have started during the 1930s, not in the direct aftermath of the First World War, and “nothing [new] appears to have started after the late 1940s or early 1950s.”<sup>80</sup> Gentleman notes that Angus was one of the few local authorities with any coordinated approach to its hut sites, though this focused on a single document, the survey for the Carnoustie Local Plan of 1978, which concentrated on the lack of hygienic standards – there was no running water at Barry Downs, for example, except for a single cold tap, no rubbish or waste disposal facilities and sanitation consisted of chemical toilets.<sup>81</sup> Gentleman observed that action was not taken over this because “both sites have been reducing steadily and are used in part for caravan storage” and concluded that some sites now appear as something of an anachronism;

The large static caravan sites that became a feature of post war life probably superseded hut sites. It may be the trend will continue with sites simply atrophying with lack of use, declining interest and a lack of investment. In some cases, hut sites appear to have been redeveloped for other possibly more gainful uses. Elsewhere what were huts in the past have acquired facilities until they become little distinguishable from other small rural or coastal dwellings.<sup>82</sup>

It seems that by the 1970s and the advent of package holidays abroad, huts in Scotland were caught betwixt and between. If they lacked facilities, they were insanitary -- if they came up to modern standards, they looked too permanent.<sup>83</sup> Caravans offered the ideal compromise: still essentially temporary but easier to “hook up” to water, electricity and sewerage. Despite Gentleman’s picture of inevitable decline and pressure by more “gainful uses” for land, he also noted demand for new huts was consistently high across all sites and the use of huts

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<sup>80</sup> Gentleman, 2000, p.61

<sup>81</sup> ibid p.38

<sup>82</sup> ibid p.33

<sup>83</sup> Planning Application Angus Council September 1995; “A number of huts exist at this location which are of generally substandard nature and it is not a situation the council would wish to perpetuate. There is a danger of this property being utilized for permanent residential use, leading to other owners seizing the same opportunity and thus the eventual creation of a small hamlet in a remote location with poor access and lack of facilities.”

appeared to be increasing. Perhaps a more convincing explanation for the apparent decline in hutting arose from a questionnaire sent to hutters asking if they rented or owned the land their huts sat upon. All hutters (except one who may have misunderstood the question) owned their huts. But only 18% also owned the land the huts sat upon, while the vast majority (82%) rented their hut sites.<sup>84</sup> This is almost exactly the reverse in Norway where 80% of hut owners also own the land.<sup>85</sup> The information gleaned by Gentleman suggests tenure has been an important but under-rated factor in maintaining huts over time – just as diverse land ownership has been a barely recognised prerequisite for a thriving hutting culture.

Gentlemen also found that Scotland's hut owners and tenants had many things in common – both groups were more likely to have bought their huts (71%) than inherited them (19%) – though many had personally built them. Irrespective of tenure type, a quarter of all hutter households were couples aged over 60, most had no children, and only a quarter were in full-time employment.

Whatever the job types of current owners, their predecessors were likely to have come from modest backgrounds often with some form of trade experience or skills. Huts on owned sites tend to have more occupiers from higher income groups.<sup>86</sup>

Once again, this contrasts strongly with the pattern of hut use in Norway where young families and high earners form the vast majority of hutters. In Scotland, those who owned the land were far more likely to have huts dating from the 20s and 30s, with a number of bedrooms, a foundation slab, electricity and mains water, plumbed in toilets and a hut site where all other huts are occupied and functioning. Owners also tended to have huts in wilder locations, with "no surfaced access."<sup>87</sup> In other words, where Scottish hut sites have enjoyed the Norwegian norms of owner-occupation, their location, longevity, size, facilities and levels of maintenance have all improved.

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<sup>84</sup> Gentleman, 2000, p.82

<sup>85</sup> Statistics Norway, 2017

<sup>86</sup> Gentleman, 2000, p.113

<sup>87</sup> ibid p.75.

Another big difference between renters and owners of hut sites concerns rights of transfer, tenure rights site restrictions and formal legal agreements. Gentleman noted that “on many sites the whole system is highly informal and based on historical person-to-person agreement” with sensible precautions about shutting gates and leaving the garden area tidy. But on other sites (all of them rented) there are specific and draconian restrictions;

Notification if visitors are staying with you. Hut to be occupied at weekends and two weeks during the summer only. Only those listed on missive can stay in hut. No pets. No occupation between October and April. Paint hut green and brown only. No letting except to immediate family and close relatives. No flush toilets. No change or extension without landowner and council permission. No lit fires. No football. No walling on any fenced off land. No tents. No transfer of huts without owner’s permission.<sup>88</sup>

Furthermore, Gentleman found that one in three hutters wanting to hand on their tenancies was simply not allowed to do it;

Agreement is renewed only by landlord’s discretion – you have no rights whatsoever. If you complain about anything, including rent increases he tells you if you don’t like it, leave.”

“Completely feudal. No right of appeal on any subject. Landlord decision is final and you would have to remove your hut if he says so regardless of how much you spent on it.”

“He owns the land– I own the hut. If he wants me out, I have to accept basically.”

“Do what he wants or he will evict you.”<sup>89</sup>

The biggest reason given for a decline in the use of huts amongst those who own the land, is distance from the first home (44%), whilst amongst those who rent the land it is “other members of the family don’t like it anymore” followed by “disagreements with site owner.” So, in the 1990s – and probably today -- many hutters in Scotland experienced the restriction and powerlessness familiar to Lindøya’s hutters seventy years earlier. It is unlikely Scotland’s emergent middle classes would tolerate such control and

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<sup>88</sup> ibid p.83.

<sup>89</sup> ibid p.84.

interference simply to have a basic, wooden cabin on a precarious hutting site. But it was also impossible to acquire an individual plot in desirable mountain, forest and loch-side locations either – so it is easy to see why hutting never took off in Scotland. In Norway, individual farmer/foresters have been quite happy to accommodate huts on their land, though after Lindøya there was less enthusiasm for large-scale hutting communities. In Scotland, by contrast, the only huts that still exist are on relatively large sites, like Carbeth, made possible by well-timed requests to fairly unconventional farmers who had bought or inherited parts of larger, feudal sporting estates.

#### **7.4 Barry Downs**

The valuation roll shows some huts began on sites at Barry Downs and Lucknow (both on Barry Road) and Greenlawhill on the other side of Carnoustie in Angus between 1937-8, directly after the Holidays with Pay Act.<sup>90</sup> According to Doreen Paton, the daughter of Robert Sturrock, the farmer who first leased land for huts on Barry Downs, was the only farmer locally to own his own land, instead of renting it from the Panmure Estate, which owned most land for ten miles around the site.<sup>91</sup> Sturrock had been in the Merchant Navy and sent savings home to his mother with the intention of buying land on his return. By 1935 he had enough to buy the 350-acre Ravensby estate from the trustees of farmer Robert Colville Bowie, who had died three years earlier.<sup>92</sup> Sturrock was described as a poultry farmer in the Sassine Register – a relatively unusual occupation at the time, prompted perhaps by a Department of Agriculture circular two years earlier announcing support for pig or poultry farming and market gardening near the main centres of population in industrial Scotland.<sup>93</sup> The Land Settlement Act of 1934 confirmed this shift in policy, and provided

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<sup>90</sup> Valuation Roll, County of Angus 1937-8 p100 Entry 142. Gross annual value of 36 huts is £42 5 shillings. Gross annual value of Sturrock's own farm land is less - £32 6s 4d

<sup>91</sup> Semi-structured interview with Doreen Paton 2012

<sup>92</sup> Sassine Register 1935, National Register Office, Edinburgh

<sup>93</sup> Hansard HC 28-6-1935 vol 303 cc 1456-7 <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1935/jun/28/department-of-agriculture-scotland>

funds for a thousand new holdings to be created near industrial areas.<sup>94</sup> It is not clear if Sturrock benefitted directly, but it does seem clear he did not devise Barry Downs as a form of rehabilitation for wounded soldiers, no matter how often newspaper reports suggested he did.<sup>95</sup> The significant thing was that Robert Sturrock could diversify into unconventional land uses like poultry and hutting because he owned land and was his own master. But still, it was a regular camper, not Sturrock himself who first had the idea of setting up huts.

In the early 1930s, the first hut to be erected at The Downs was put up by Mr Andrew Jackson. Soon others came asking for sites, so ground to the east was opened up.<sup>96</sup>

The years 1937-8 saw a number of developments which facilitated hut development. In 1937, there was a rent rebate for tenants of Dundee's new council flats, which probably included Andrew Jackson and the bulk of other hutters according to valuation rolls.<sup>97</sup> The Housing and Finance Committee agreed houses built in 1935 should be charged at rents fixed in earlier Housing Acts which meant a 10% decrease.<sup>98</sup> So huts began at Barry Downs the month after most Dundee hutters probably had £1-2 refunded to them by the council. It was also the year of the 1938 Holidays with Pay Act, which recommended a week's annual paid vacation for all full-time workers and there was a flurry of cottage construction in the surrounding Angus countryside after the Housing (the agricultural population) Act of that year prompted Angus County Council to approve plans for 30 new cottages in 13 locations.<sup>99</sup>

The early days of Barry Downs, as recollected by Robert Sturrock's daughter, Doreen Paton, contain striking similarities to Carbeth and some contrasts with the hutting islands of Oslo fjord. Like Carbeth, but unlike Lindøya, there was no hutting master plan at Barry Downs, rather an ad-hoc

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<sup>94</sup> Mather, The rise and fall of government-assisted land settlement in Scotland, p.220.

<sup>95</sup> *Barry huts not for war veterans* - letter by Doreen Paton in *Scotsman* 2.5.2010 "May I repeat that the huts at the Downs, Barry, were never in any way connected to war veterans returning home."

<sup>96</sup> Interview with Doreen Paton, 2012

<sup>97</sup> Valuation rolls show Andrew Jackson lived at 10 St Salvador St with the code DCC which "usually means council housing" according to Iain Flett, Dundee City Archivist 2010

<sup>98</sup> Rents - 1 room £8; 2 rooms £12; 3 rooms £15; 4 rooms £16, 5s.

<sup>99</sup> County of Angus proceedings 1937-8. Principal minutes.

expansion of land and basic facilities as more hutters arrived. Examination of the Valuation Rolls shows that during the first decade at Barry Downs, huts were constructed by close neighbours of the first hutter Andrew Jackson, who lived in the Hilltown, Dundee. Amongst the first 37 hutting families, many shared the same home address and the same surname. Their occupations included spinner, French polisher, brass moulder, fireman, millworker, overseer, seaman, carter, labourer and mechanic. Like Carbeth and Lindøya, skilled workers seemed to predominate and word of mouth and family ties were apparently important ways of finding hut sites. Like William Ferris at Carbeth, the original hutter at Barry Downs became caretaker for the whole camp; "With expansion of the camp, Andrew Jackson had to relocate his original hut and agreed to keep an eye on things."<sup>100</sup> There were 37 huts at Barry Downs in 1937-8 and a similar number at a site one mile closer to Dundee, which opened that year at Greenlawhill (described as Lucknow after 1961). This land was owned by James Robertson who also seems to have bought it from the estate of Robert Colville Bowie.<sup>101</sup> One newspaper reported that 200 people from 70 Dundee families were "living in wooden huts set in rows to form streets," in 1938, "unnoticed by the majority of passers-by" since "only the tops of huts from the main road."<sup>102</sup> Clearly, the need for early huts to be discreetly located was as important in 1930s Angus as in Oslofjord.

Numbers kept slowly rising until the early 1960s when there were 159 huts across the two sites and a further 37 huts on the coast at Buckiehillocks near Westhaven in the parish of Panbride. These huts first appeared in 1949-50, but by the summer of 1966 they had all gone.<sup>103</sup>

According to hutter William Coupar;

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<sup>100</sup> Interview with Doreen Paton 2012; "A water pipe was put in and a big brick rubbish bin was built. At the request of the campers (they were always called campers) my mother opened a small shop, which sold sweets, ice cream and basic tinned goods. We never had any trouble with vandalism as in those days nearly everybody came from Dundee and were known to each other. I cannot remember what my father charged for renting a site but I remember there was a lot of ill feeling when Angus County Council decided to rate the huts as permanent dwellings and my father collected the rates for them along with the rents."

<sup>101</sup> This might be due to the impact of death duties but no evidence was found in archive search.

<sup>102</sup> *People's Journal* July 23 1938 front page

<sup>103</sup> Valuation Roll Country of Angus 1949-50 p138 lists huts 139-169. These have all gone by 1966-7

The present tenant of the land is leaving and the ground will cease to be agricultural land. When this happens, the railway is apparently under no obligation to maintain the level crossing, which is the only means of access to the site. There simply seems to have been a general build-up of opposition to us from all sides.<sup>104</sup>

After the passage of the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act, Angus County Council used newly acquired planning powers to reject an application for more huts at Lucknow.<sup>105</sup> (See footnote 28 ; page 225). Angus Public Health Committee heard “there did not seem to be any control whatsoever” amongst huts and shacks built on fields east and west of Carnoustie, “and no steps were being taken to see that sanitary arrangements were right.”<sup>106</sup> Two years later, the Town and Country Planning Committee stopped work on huts without planning permission. In 1956 the Valuations and Ratings Scotland Act abolished owner’s rates and levied rates on occupiers instead. Doreen Paton recollects that her father collected the rates along with rent on behalf of Angus County Council, though “there was a lot of ill feeling.”<sup>107</sup> By 1978 the total of huts at Barry Downs had dropped to around 110 huts. The story of the site’s subsequent decline is contested.

Hugh Gentleman’s report suggests Barry Downs was gradually cleared by the new owners by; “a process of non-replacement, allied to a shift to partial use for caravans and caravan storage.”<sup>108</sup> But the hutters maintain they quietly enjoyed their weekend escapes without much bother until a change of land ownership in 2005, which prompted Barry Downs’ final decline as a hutting site. Andrew Young of Shoreline Management, barred vehicle entrance to the site, cut off water supplies (which he later restored) and claimed the site breached health and safety rules. He raised annual rents from £250 to £470 to upgrade the site. The hutters paid cheques, which he returned. The two “sides” then

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<sup>104</sup> *People’s Journal* April 17 1965 “The Battle of Buckie is over”

<sup>105</sup> County of Angus Proceedings 4 Jan 1950

<sup>106</sup> *Arbroath Herald and Advertiser* for the Montrose Burghs - Friday 24 January 1947

<sup>107</sup> Letter by Doreen Paton *Scotsman* 2.5.2010

<sup>108</sup> Gentleman, 2000, p.33.

went into dispute.<sup>109</sup> In 2007 the 45 remaining hutters embarked on a series of legal cases to prove tenancy rights. The expense was crippling for low-paid workers most of whom were ineligible for legal aid. By 2010 none had succeeded and -- in their absence -- the huts had been smashed up and vandalised.<sup>110</sup>



**Figure 7.4 Vandalised hut at Barry Downs 2011**

James and Pauline Rowling from the Maryhill area of Glasgow had bought a hut at Barry Downs in 1990 and occupied the site until September 2013 when they found their hut had been destroyed. The old huts remained for several years until they were finally demolished in 2015 by a landowner who regarded them as “eyesores.” Near where they once stood is a caravan site, also owned by Shoreline whose “vans” are essentially plastic versions of wooden huts. The Barry Downs hutters struggled to keep their huts in part because Angus Council didn’t act to support them as Stirling Council had done at Carbeth, years earlier.

Pauline Rowling said in 2014; “A way of life has been destroyed here-- there was a real community feel to the Barry huts which is a rare thing now. It was a

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<sup>109</sup> *Scotsman* 30.5.2011, <https://www.scotsman.com/news/opinion/lesley-riddoch-jackpot-for-scottish-land-reform-1-2477473>

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*

cheap holiday for families living in the city, but it provided more than that and gave a lot of kids from urban areas the chance to experience something different.”<sup>111</sup>

## 7.5 Seton Sands

The Seton Sands hut site on the Forth Estuary also started by accident and involved another unlikely and unconventional landowner. In 1918 an Edinburgh academic, William Bruce bought most of the area around Seton Sands from the estate of Francis, Earl of Wemyss and March, for £10,000. This was a surprising transaction on a number of grounds. Bruce was a lecturer at the East of Scotland Agriculture College.<sup>112</sup> Francis Richard Charteris, 10th Earl of Wemyss styled as Lord Elcho between 1853 and 1883, had set up the Liberty and Property Defence League in 1882;

a thoroughly dogmatic pressure group for extreme laissez-faire, and a lobby group for industrialists and land-owners who were alarmed by Georgism (and its call for land taxes), trade unionism, socialism and elements in the Gladstone administration.<sup>113</sup>

In 1921 some Boys' Brigade members asked William Bruce Senior, if they could pitch their tents on his land for the weekend.<sup>114</sup> In the pattern established by Carbeth, Barry Downs and Lindøya, they had camped nearby a year earlier. For most it was their first time away from the city's crowded tenements and the trip proved so successful they came back the following summer.<sup>115</sup> This time they were confronted by the local policeman who ordered them to move on. As they struck camp, the boys spotted a young farmer working in the neighbouring field and asked him to save their holiday by letting them camp. William Bruce had recently acquired the land so he could still farm while lecturing as a professor at

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<sup>111</sup> Interview with James and Pauline Rowling, 2014

<sup>112</sup> S. Baker (ed.), *Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian*, 2000.

<https://el4.org.uk/parish/cockenzie-port-seton/economy/> Accessed December 2016.

<sup>113</sup> E. Bristow, 'The Liberty and Property Defence League and Individualism', *Historical Journal* Vol 18, Issue 4 (1975) pp. 761-789.

<sup>114</sup> Baker, *Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian*.

<sup>115</sup> W. F. Hendrie, *Discovering the Firth of Forth* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1998).

the East of Scotland Agricultural College at Edinburgh University. He was used to students and enjoyed having young people around.<sup>116</sup> He also owned three farms near Blairgowrie (managed by one of his brothers). Indeed Bruce managed to combine an enduring interest in farming despite his ever-expanding portfolio of holiday huts, serving as National Farmers Union President in Scotland for 20 years.<sup>117</sup> Bruce was a liberal and an innovator; in 1935 he welcomed the government scheme for insurance against unemployment amongst agricultural workers whilst other Lothian farmers were opposed and around the same time was elected to represent Scotland's sugar beet growers on the UK body, encouraging fellow producers to use new processing facilities near Cupar or watch the plant be dismantled and moved to England.<sup>118</sup> Like William Ferris, he also sailed to Canada on a mission in 1932 – heading for Ottawa as NFU Scotland's representative at the Imperial Economic Conference. He was active in NFU Scotland as a representative of pig farmers and later sat on the union's War Committee. Bruce was elected to negotiate prices for flax production with the Government – by 1940 he had been growing the crop for several years and addressed a meeting of Fife farmers urging greater "organisation, specialisation, standardisation, and development of education and scientific methods."<sup>119</sup> He mentioned the case of a farmer in England who reorganised a dairy farm of 100 cows and, by employing college-trained staff, had more than halved the workforce. Perhaps a man with so many entrepreneurial and political interests (he stood unsuccessfully as a candidate in Caithness and Sutherland in the 1930s) could not be a very hands-on hutting manager (as complaints would later attest).<sup>120</sup> Meanwhile, the young Glaswegians had returned home enthusing about the combination of countryside and seaside delights at Seton Sands, to such an extent that their parents decided to come as well in July 1922. Soon, "The Sands" proved so popular that the farmer began to receive letters asking if he could provide more

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<sup>116</sup> *Scotsman* 21 July 1920 p.6.

<sup>117</sup> *Dundee Courier* December 1951.

<sup>118</sup> *The Scotsman* - Friday 25 January 1935.

<sup>119</sup> *Dundee Courier* - Friday 12 January 1940.

<sup>120</sup> *Falkirk Herald* - Saturday 24 February 1940.

permanent accommodation (interestingly, the letter writers did not think to request land so they could simply build huts of their own).

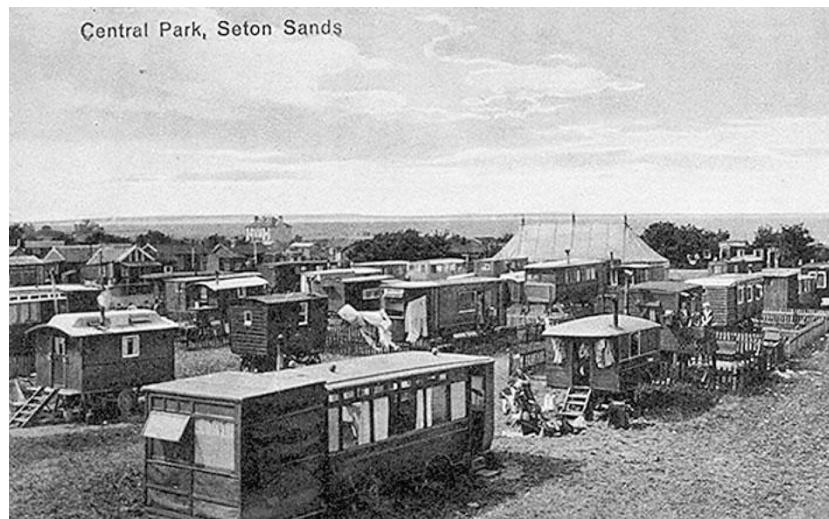


Figure 7.5 Huts at Seton Sands 1930s

In 1924, Bruce bought six old LNER passenger railway carriages and four former Edinburgh tram cars and made them available for rent at a few shillings per week or £3 a year. This part of his farm was sandy scrubland and no use for agriculture, so he cleared a further 52 acres and soon more tents, caravans, huts, converted bus bodies, tramcars and railway carriages were added. Bruce's son, William Junior, was put in charge of operations and the county council applied strict regulations, refusing permanent occupation of the site to ensure it remained a holiday camp.<sup>121</sup> Very quickly, the camp became overcrowded with an average of 500 people per weekend by 1928 and 1500 on Edinburgh and Glasgow Trades holiday weekends (around 8 people per hut).<sup>122</sup> A circular from the Department of Health for Scotland allowed councils to exceed overcrowding standards for 16 weeks a year and town councils across East Lothian (especially North Berwick) were making such applications every summer.<sup>123</sup> One of the site's big attractions was the comparative ease of access via public transport.

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<sup>121</sup> Baker, *Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian*.

<sup>122</sup> *The Scotsman* 27.11.1928 p11

<sup>123</sup> J. Marshall, *Holidays in East Lothian with focus on Seton Sands*, Dissertation, Stirling University (2012) p17, footnote 45

Glaswegians travelled by train to Edinburgh Waverley and then by coastal tram to the end of the line at the neighbouring fishing village of Port Seton. From there they walked round the edge of the bay carrying belongings in suitcases and even brown paper parcels, pushing babies and toddlers in prams to reach the campsite. Some families even banded together to hire a furniture van to transport them all the way.<sup>124</sup> The number of campers grew rapidly from dozens to several thousand by the end of the 1920s with adverts in papers from the Borders to Dundee and beyond.



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It was not until 1927 that Seton Sands first explicitly mentioned huts as well as tents in the adverts.



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In 1933 holiday making at Port Seton soared in popularity with the opening of the village's large, open-air, salt-water swimming pool, built on land sold by the Earl of Wemyss to the Provost, Magistrates and Burgh Council. It was an Olympic standard length with changing cubicles at both ends, and 1500 spectator capacity on the other sides.<sup>127</sup> Pond Hall, built beside the pool, provided extra changing facilities, council chambers, library, tearoom and

<sup>124</sup> W.F. Hendrie, *Scots Magazine*, New Series Vol 153, No 2, August (2000), pp.168-172.

<sup>125</sup> *Southern Reporter* (Selkirk)- Thursday 31 July 1924.

<sup>126</sup> *Falkirk Herald* - Saturday 18 June 1927.

<sup>127</sup> Marshall, *Holidays in East Lothian*, p.26.

function hall able to accommodate 800 people with a sprung ballroom floor, one of only three in Britain at the time. The Pond also had a 33-foot diving stage, which was the highest in Scotland and Pete Des Jardin, the 1935 World Diving Champion, was one of many famous visitors to give displays.<sup>128</sup> Crowds of spectators watched regular water galas which had become an established feature of inter-war summer seasons from Lindøya to Carbeth. And like these other hutting communities, Seton Sands was being used by families every weekend, not just over summer holidays.<sup>129</sup>

War time brought rationing, blackouts, concrete blocks, poles on the beach, and barriers at both ends of the access road to Seton Sands where travel permits had to be shown. Only ratepayers were allowed to stay at Seton Sands, and only if their wives agreed to help on the land and children went to local schools.<sup>130</sup> Two holes of Port Seton golf course and tennis courts in the holiday camp were ploughed for crops, and sheep grazed on the recreation squares in winter. As a result, camp occupancy dropped by 30 per cent.

After the war though, damaged huts were repaired and in the era before package holidays, Seton Sands and neighbouring Port Seton attracted 3,500 holidaymakers during the Glasgow and Edinburgh Fair fortnights. In 1947 a joint stock limited company, Bruce's Camps Ltd was formed with over 600 chalets and caravans. The camp covering 60 acres was open from April until September (like Lindøya). The original layout had been irregular in shape and chalets were sited close together; later they were built in lines with open squares. (Figure 7.4.) Finally, in 1954, the Bruce family laid a water pipe through the camp.<sup>131</sup>

Seton Sands had become so popular it was even possible to fly there using an air taxi service operated by the SMT from Turnhouse (Edinburgh airport). The company's bi-planes landed on the sands at low tide and when demand for return flights was slack, enterprising pilots offered pleasure "flips"

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<sup>128</sup> Baker, Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian, Accessed December 2016.

<sup>129</sup> *The Scotsman* 20 July 1936 "During the weekend, practically every hut in a small town of cabins, was in commission."

<sup>130</sup> Fourth Statistical Account, Volume 5, p.163

<sup>131</sup> Marshall, *Holidays in East Lothian*, p.32.

round the bay for five shillings and half price for accompanied children.<sup>132</sup> William Bruce Junior (who took over managing the site after his father's death in 1951) often used the biplanes to visit other family farms in Perthshire – timing the return journey to coincide with low tides. His daughter, Margaret Chapman, remembers an outgoing and mildly eccentric man;

Just as he enjoyed being a pioneer of air travel, my father always delighted in introducing modern attractions at the camp and we soon had an amusement marquee with early automatic slot machines, a fortune-telling machine and even a "What the Butler Saw" peepshow which was considered very risqué at the time.<sup>133</sup>

But the camp was attracting negative comments. A "local inhabitant" wrote to the Scotsman in 1949, complaining about "troops of noisy hooligans wandering at will on the roads" – a view backed up by a resident of North Berwick who described;

A state of unparalleled squalor and dirt... the centrepiece being Seton Sands, better known as Bruce's Camp, which has a perennial border about five feet wide of dirty waste paper. Is one of the loveliest shores in the country to remain a plague spot? Are the summer lives of local inhabitants to be ruined without a hope of redress?<sup>134</sup> (See footnote 51 ; page 150).

The Head Planner between 1950-75, Frank Tindall had mixed views on the huts. On the one hand, his first County Development Plan in 1950 seemed positive: "The camp at Port Seton fulfils a valuable regional need. Such huts are the poor man's equivalent of the weekend cottage, and are appearing around all big cities."<sup>135</sup>

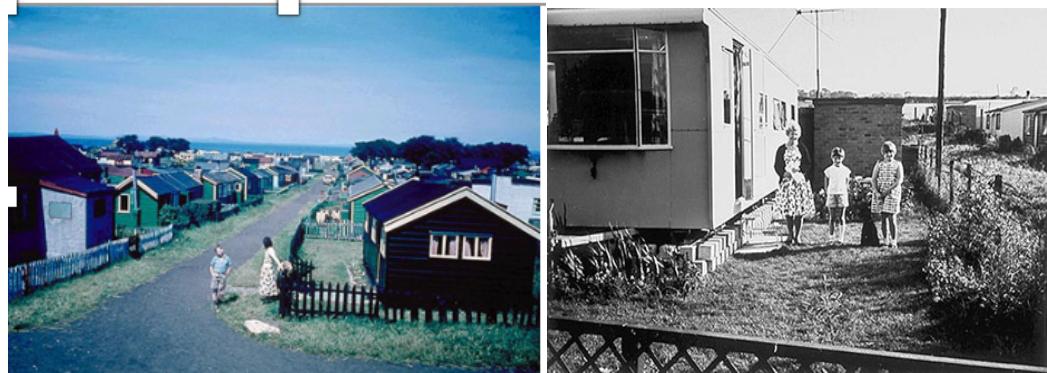
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<sup>132</sup> Hendrie W.F. *Scots Magazine*, pp.168-172.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid p.169

<sup>134</sup> *The Scotsman* 4 August 1949

<sup>135</sup> E.L.C.C. Development Plan, 11<sup>th</sup> December 1950, p8, paragraph 40



**Figure 7.6 Huts are replaced with caravans at Seton Sands in 1960s**

Tindall even suggested the council should consider laying out new hut sites like Seton Sands at the seaside (Aberlady) and inland (Haddington) and if these were not enough, several small caravan sites and a large-scale holiday camp could also be built.<sup>136</sup> None of these was ever constructed, however, due to objections from landowners. By 1951, a survey showed that 129 of the 386 huts at Bruce's Camp were in poor or bad condition.<sup>137</sup> Tindall threatened parts of Seton Sands with closure, but changed his mind after giving a lift to a hutting family from Edinburgh;

Home was the fourth floor of a tenement block in Gorgie, and it made me appreciate the wonderful outlet that a weekend by bus to Seton camp provided for them and their children.<sup>138</sup>

In his biography, Tindall said this experience prompted him to protect and improve the camp. Doubtless, the support of this influential character was an important factor in the survival of Seton Sands. But hygiene concerns were growing. According to a granddaughter of some original hutters;

Compared with the latest caravans with their gas or electric central heating and ensuite facilities, our family's railway carriage was definitely primitive. We had to use the site's communal wash block and go outside to fetch all the water we needed from a standpipe in the grounds.<sup>139</sup>

<sup>136</sup> E.L.C.C. Development Plan, 11<sup>th</sup> December 1950, p8, paragraph 40

<sup>137</sup> Marshall, *Holidays in East Lothian*, p.32.

<sup>138</sup> F. Tindall, *Memoirs and Confessions of a County Planning Officer*, (Midlothian: 1998), p.37.

<sup>139</sup> Hendrie, Scots Magazine.

By 1961, there was a total of 630 huts. That year, after many orders to improve conditions, Tindall used the fact planning permission had just expired, to offer a compromise to William Bruce Junior, who had taken over when his father died in 1951. A report observed that the 15 “temporary” acres constituted; “the best laid out part of the site and it seems a pity these huts might be removed whereas older huts with less good layouts are retained.” So, the council would not require the “new” huts to be torn down, and would give Seton Sands a licence, if William Bruce Junior’s family redeveloped the whole camp to eliminate sub-standard huts, install a water supply and sewerage to individual huts, improve roads, create firebreaks (after several devastating fires) and plant one tree beside each hut. Fifty substandard huts were demolished, and 72 large residential caravans towed in to accommodate workers building the Cockenzie power station.<sup>140</sup> A site licence was issued in compliance with the 1960 Caravan Act - clearly the future of the camp now lay with caravans not huts;

Old huts have provided many poor families with cheap and healthy holidays at little capital outlay either by the landlord or hut owners. The general rise in living standards makes one consider whether something on the lines of a summer village should not be developed with proper little houses, each with water and electricity and sanitation laid on. The alternative is to convert large parts of the camp for caravans. <sup>141</sup>

William Bruce Junior died in 1957, and his children helped run the site until its sale to Bourne Leisure in 1973. <sup>142</sup> While many seaside resorts declined during the 60s, Seton Sands managed to buck the trend. But in the early 70s, with all-

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<sup>140</sup> Baker, *Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian*.

<sup>141</sup> ELCC Planning department coastal survey 1961. Box A16 p21; The fire risk is very high; an increasing number of cars block roadways and the camp still presents a bad impression of the region. The best policy for the camp in the future is not clear.

<sup>142</sup> W.F. Hendrie, *Discovering the Firth of Forth* (Haddington: 2002), pp.181-202. Bourne Leisure runs similar sites at Wemyss Bay on the Firth of Clyde and over twenty others in England and Wales. They renamed the site “Seton Sands Holiday Village” and recorded 30,000 visitors there in 1994, when the council closed the Pond due to lack of cash to fix leaks.

inclusive holidays on offer from Pontins and Butlins, the family decided to sell up. The era of huts at Seton Sands was over.

## 7.6 Smaller sites

In 2007 at Rascarrel, in Kirkcudbrightshire, seven hutters dismantled or burned down their own huts, after a seven-fold rent increase.<sup>143</sup> They had tried unsuccessfully to use the 1979 Land Regulation (Scotland) Act to prove tenancy rights, and like the Carbeth hutters, they had also appealed unsuccessfully to the Scottish Parliament's Justice Committee.<sup>144</sup> Then, believing that restoring the land to a green-field site would at least force the landowner to obtain a change of use before building new luxury cottages, they destroyed their own huts. Planning permission for the luxury cottages was granted a year later. This dramatic act was the only way hutters could exercise control over the land their families had occupied peacefully for a century. One of the hutters, Bill Allen, said his great grandfather started the Rascarrel colony in 1936;

He was a batman for an MP during World War One and was given permission to put an old roadman's wagon on the shore - whether it was a reward for services or what, I don't know.<sup>145</sup>

The huts were used continuously from then until 2003 when the estate changed hands from Jim Hendry to his daughter and her husband. Thereafter, "the relationship between the hutters and their landowner soured considerably."<sup>146</sup>

Local historians suggest beach huts on the Moray coast sprang up at Hopeman during the 1800s and were "initially for the gentry of Elgin to change their clothes and shelter should the weather deteriorate."<sup>147</sup> Thomas R. Gordon-Duff of Drummuir owned the West Beach and huts were first recorded there in

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<sup>143</sup> *Galloway News* 10.7.2008 P1

<sup>144</sup> Correspondence from Christine and Norman Milligan 2.2.2004 J1/S2/04/13/11 Annex E

<sup>145</sup> Lloyd M *Inside Housing* 4.3.2005

<sup>146</sup> *The Herald* 23.12.2004

<sup>147</sup> J. McPherson, *Hopeman 1805-2005* (Hopeman: Hopeman Community Association, 2008), pp.23-24.

1929.<sup>148</sup> The estate charged rents from 1931 but started to sell off much of the estate in the 1950s. There were still 82 huts on the West Beach in the last year of Drummuir's ownership, in 1978, and the same in 1979 when J. Dean Anderson bought the land. But in 1984 a sharp decline followed the acquisition of the hutting land by John L. Geddes and Margaret Geddes -- only 23 huts remained in 1989.<sup>149</sup> By contrast, the East [Braemou] Beach has been local authority owned since 1935 when Duffus and Drainie District Council became landowners.<sup>150</sup> Government reorganisation and mergers transferred the huts and land to Moray Council who handed it over to Hopeman Community Council in 1981. It now administers 44 beach huts with a 10-year waiting list.<sup>151</sup> It is not clear why Duffus and Drainie District Council decided to buy the East Beach in 1930. Since local government reform that year merged parishes to form larger, more powerful district councils, a sense of civic duty may have prompted councillors to match the private huts already on offer on the West Beach.<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> *Northern Scot*, 20 July 1929 "Last year there was only one bathing house on the fine stretch of sands, which are ideal for bathing, but now twelve of these huts may be seen dotted along the beach." First entries in Valuation Roll West (private) Beach VR109/76/101 1931-32 Hut Stances – landowner: Thomas R. Gordon Duff

VR109/76/102 1931-32 4 huts listed – One owned by local doctor, another by quarry owner.

<sup>149</sup> VR125/1/14 1979 pp.49-55 – Estate bought by J. Dean Anderson per Wink & Mackenzie, Elgin

<sup>150</sup> East Beach (council owned) *Northern Scot*, 4 July 1931 p.8.col.3 "A number of extra bathing huts has been erected on the village grounds at Braemou Bay."

First entry in Valuation Roll East/Braemou Beach

VR109/78/557-58 1935-36 - landowner: Duffus and Drainie District Council

VR125/1/20 1981 pp.55-58 – landowner: Moray DC per Hopeman Community Council

<sup>151</sup> *The Scotsman* 3.5.2013 <https://www.scotsman.com/news/odd/the-scots-beach-huts-with-a-10-year-waiting-list-1-2919219> Accessed April 2017

<sup>152</sup> D.G. Lockhart, 'Hopeman, Moray; houses, harbours and holidays', *Scottish Local History* issue 89 Autumn 2014, p.36.



**Figure 7.7 West and East Beaches 1980**

Lendalfoot in South Ayrshire demonstrates another way in which huts have been airbrushed from the Scottish countryside. According to Hugh Gentleman, the site 7 kilometres north of Ballantrae has 28 houses and modern bungalows, some of which retain the look of seaside chalets but all of which have been modernised into modern, conventional homes and are, therefore, liable for council tax. He notes that the local Assessor's office believes most of them began as huts.<sup>153</sup> According to local residents, Nancy and John Agnew Barr, the site began in the now familiar way with tents appearing in 1937 on land owned by the Duke of Hamilton. "There were caravans and tents beside an old hall where scouts and guides camped by the Water of Lendal." Soon 2 railway carriages appeared and 8 huts were bought from a local farmer. More were built on a 99-year lease with the stipulation that the building material, had to be wood not stone. Then around the year 2000, the estate announced plans to sell to the hut-owners at £8,000 per plot - every plot was purchased.<sup>154</sup>

Glendevon, in Perth and Kinross, had 15 huts in 1999, across 5 sites in a windswept glen, between Crook of Devon and Gleneagles. John Paterson, son of the farmer who first allowed huts in Glendevon after the Second World War recalled, "Families who built the huts were young couples with children, forced by the war-time housing shortage to live with in-laws. In 1958, the council

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<sup>153</sup> Gentleman, 2000, pp 20 and 40

<sup>154</sup> Interview with residents in 2015

caught up with the huts and gave them a rateable value of £5. I had to pay their water charges.”<sup>155</sup>

The 47 huts at Soonhope were apparently built by miners from Rosewell, a mining village within cycling distance of the site behind the Peebles Hydro Hotel. Another group of huts near Eddleston north of Peebles also had a mining connection.<sup>156</sup> Another 24 huts at Belhaven near Dunbar were built on a disused yard at Winterfield Mains farm after a golf course opened nearby in 1935; “this probably marks the genesis of ‘the chalets.’”<sup>157</sup> In 1938, 18,000 visitors were recorded during the six summer months, so spare bits of land were opened up for camping and caravanning to relieve the pressure. “On the plots there was a large degree of freedom and an eclectic mixture of old train carriages, roadmen’s wagons, huts and tents.”<sup>158</sup> After the application of planning regulations, the numbers declined to 24 similar semi-permanent chalets. In the late 1990s the council considered closing the site and incorporating the land into the golf course but did not pursue the proposal.<sup>159</sup>

Caron Valley, 10km west of Denny in Stirlingshire currently has 14 huts, which, according to a local historian were built at the turn of the twentieth century by miners from Kilsyth and Kirkintilloch - “dry” towns because of the dangers of combining alcohol and machinery.<sup>160</sup> If anyone wanted to drink, they had to move outside the three-mile exclusion zone. The Carron Valley Hotel is just this distance from Kilsyth at the top of the Tak-Me-Doon Road, so miners used to walk up and pitch tents – then some asked permission to build huts so they could spend the whole weekend there. In 1990, the hutters were apparently allowed to buy the pieces of ground their huts stood on.

Another 10 huts sit near the Cloch lighthouse, Inverclyde – many of them steel shipping containers on a tiny stretch of land between the high tide mark and the main road. One hutter, Archie, who would only give his Christian name,

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<sup>155</sup> *Scotsman* April 19 1978, p.15.

<sup>156</sup> *Reforesting Scotland Magazine*, Issue 43 (2011), p. 15.

<sup>157</sup> Information sheet by David Anderson, librarian East Lothian Council March 2014

<sup>158</sup> *ibid*

<sup>159</sup> Gentleman, 2000, p.40.

<sup>160</sup> Interview Sheila Laidlaw, Craigannet Farm June 2014

said that before the war, people from the new housing estates in the hills above Gourock, Greenock and Port Glasgow used to camp on beaches at Inverkip on land belonging to the Shaw Stewart's Ardgowan Estate. But after the war the estate wanted to site a factory there, so campers were offered huts if they moved along the coast. Archie believed the estate chose the tiny strip of foreshore because "it's sheltered and a sun trap." Clearly though this margin of tidal foreshore is also unusable and the huts are very hard to spot from the road. Huts are mostly corrugated tin and bits of riveted steel – all recycled. But according to Archie, there is no problem from the council "if we keep it all tidy".

There are common threads in all these stories – the tendency to camp first before getting permission to build a hut; the desire to escape post-war over-crowding; the use of old train carriages, roadmen's wagons, as well as huts and tents; the attraction to pools, ponds and swimming; the entrepreneurial and even eccentric nature of hutting landowners; the failure of the law to offer hutters any protection against eviction; the negative attitude of most local councils (except Stirling over Carbeth and East Lothian over Seton Sands); the role of health and safety regulations and new planning powers in closing sites or demanding conversion into caravan sites -- and the low expectations of hutters. Only a tiny fraction of hut owners in Scotland ever conceived of owning the land their hut sat on and thus having peace of mind, security of tenure and an asset to hand onto children and grand-children. This aspect alone makes Scottish hutting a dramatically different proposition to hutting in Norway.



## Chapter Eight – Why did Carbeth & Lindøya happen?

The hutting communities of Carbeth in Scotland and Lindøya in Norway were established in different countries in the very same year – 1922. Hutters at both sites began with a stack of regulations governing every aspect of their lives but without security of tenure. In Carbeth those rules were imposed by a private landowner – on Lindøya by a department of the Norwegian state. In Norway, the state protected Oslo fjord hutters from a succession of development plans hatched by the local council. In Scotland, seventy years later, an interventionist local council rescued Carbeth hutters after pleas for help were ignored by the newly devolved Scottish Parliament.<sup>1</sup> Today, both sites are thriving – mostly as a result of the tenacity and organisational skills of the hutters – but neither became a template for long-term success elsewhere.

So why did these two anomalous hutting communities survive? Was the new Norwegian State trying to catch up with the innovative and industrious Labour-led Oslo *kommune*, when it permitted huts on Lindøya? If so, was this a conscious act of appeasement or a social containment strategy? The reason workers were allowed to build huts on the Oslo fjord islands was partly because of modern ideas about health and leisure but mostly because enterprising workers with boats and a determination to experience *friluftsliv*, presented the emerging Norwegian state with a fait accompli that it then sought to justify and rationalise. Lindøya's hutters were fortunate to have been urbanised much later than Glaswegians, because their arrival in Oslo roughly coincided with the development of liberal and socialist ideas about the welfare of workers. The Scots had become city dwellers earlier in history, when neither the state, employers, nor civic society felt much obligation towards the wellbeing of the workforce. In the wake of the 1917 revolutions in Russia and neighbouring Finland, the Norwegian authorities believed Oslo's workers had to be pacified

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<sup>1</sup> Of course, it might have been a different story if Carbeth was as strategically located as Lindøya and Stirling Council owned the land. As it was, the council's ability to force a different land use on the privately-owned huts site at Carbeth was very limited.

not broken.<sup>2</sup> The authorities in Britain appeared to believe the opposite. Social Control theory suggests relationships, values, commitments, norms, and beliefs encourage citizens not to break the law. Thus, if individuals have a stake in the wider community, they will voluntarily curb their propensity to commit deviant acts through buffers of inner and outer containment, produced by society, tribes, villages and families.<sup>3</sup> There must be personal responsibility and guidelines, a sense of belonging, an ability to identify with other members and the chance to achieve status - conditions quickly realised on the *hytte* islands by the creation of *vels*, sub-committees and local roder. Hutting permits gave islanders "a stake" in the future of the islands -- though not a clearly defined or permanent one. It could be argued, however, that this very conditionality acted as a spur to better behaviour, instilling liberal values into a small group of workers by giving them a stake in the status quo. But the numbers involved suggest this could only ever have had a tiny impact, in the general context of mass mobilisation by angry workers (120,000 people had lost wages and risked imprisonment just one year earlier during the General Strike.)

Looked at another way, the state's decision to assemble 600 people from the worst slums and poorest families on an island hutting colony ran the risk of creating a workers' state within a state – a self-governing, self-contained training ground for class warriors, in full view of the law-abiding, tax-paying middle classes, travelling to their own second homes each weekend. There are a few other problems with the social containment argument. Firstly, it is not clear the right people had been "contained." Certainly 600 dissatisfied workers rapidly became 600 fairly happy ones. But were the hut owners particularly influential within the workers movement? Probably not, since their spare time was spent not in educational meetings, voluntary activity or weekend walking clubs but travelling to their own tents and huts. The people who were given hut sites do not seem to have been the poorest, most revolutionary workers – or in the case of some hutters on Nakholmen, even members of the working class at

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<sup>2</sup> Gjerland, *Oslos øyrike*, p.86

<sup>3</sup> M.R. Gottfredson and T. Hirschi, *A General Theory of Crime*. (New York: Stanford, 1990)

all. Lindøya's modern hut-owners are clear about the credentials of their forefathers: "their chief asset was that they were many, and they were poor." But how poor and how politically active?<sup>4</sup> Without time and some money to have a boat and get out of Oslo at weekends, most workers would have had great difficulty securing hut sites. The land around the city was largely "off limits" because of farming and private ownership of the enormous Marka Forest. Without special access to the islands, most Oslo workers were effectively confined to the city.

Ministry of Agriculture archives contain no trace of the discussion that must have taken place over the decision to install *landliggerne* as plot-holders on Lindøya. This has led some – including the current leader of the Joint Islands Vel, Oddmund Østebo -- to speculate that the state deliberately chose articulate, capable workers it would rather not leave at a loose end in the stinking streets of east Oslo during a long, hot radicalising summer.<sup>5</sup> According to ethnologists Klepp and Lyngø who also accessed the Lindøya archive for doctoral theses in 1993, this fits with three persistent narratives which underpin every account of the hut-builders social origins – they had low incomes, large families with lots of children and bad living conditions in Oslo. However, the researchers' interviews with the descendants of those first pioneers threw up anomalies. No-one offered a plot to the poorest *landliggerne* like Klara's stepfather who lived in a room and kitchen in Grønland with 10 children -- or her father who was a dock worker.<sup>6</sup> Huts were given to those who had already spent time on Lindøya in tents. Many of these campers must have had their own small businesses, boats (since passenger ferries only started running in 1917) and the spare cash to pay ferry fares thereafter. Were these likely to be leaders of the *Arbeiderbevegelsen*?

What the State's unexpected move undoubtedly did do was put influential voices within the workers' movement in a difficult position. How could leaders like Tranmael oppose workers owning their own private summer

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<sup>4</sup> Lindøya Vel booklet, 1993

<sup>5</sup> Interview with Oddmund Østebo (2011)

<sup>6</sup> I.J. Lyngø, *Hyttelivets*, p. 71.

*hytte* in “the ideal socialist community” as Johan Borgen described Lindøya.<sup>7</sup> (see footnote 87 page 161). The control and discipline needed by workers to construct, maintain and reach hundreds of *hytte* with thousands of annual visitors, fitted the “Tranmaelite” belief that spare time should be a self-cultivation process which let workers develop the organisational skills that would help them catch up with other social classes. Looked at that way, the *hytte* owners could easily be regarded as a “*hytteproletariatet*” creating a socialist leisure colony which had defiantly reclaimed the workers’ right to recreational space and successfully fought each alternative use proposed by a “bourgeois” council and state.<sup>8</sup>

Was the *utparsrelling* an attempt to appease or at least distract the State’s “class enemy” – the militant forces of organised labour? The term appeasement is most often applied to Neville Chamberlain’s efforts to avoid war with Nazi Germany in the 1930s, but it could also describe Stolypin’s attempts to placate revolutionaries in Russia with land reform and Norway in the period after 1918 when industrial, labour and voting reforms were rushed through the Storting after Labour’s (short-lived) embrace of the revolutionary path. Those reforms certainly were an attempt to appease the workers’ movement;

The threat of revolution forced the non-socialist parties to consider how best to avert it. One [strategy] was defensive. It aimed at winning time to carry out a comprehensive review of the demand for nationalisation of parts of the economy by making concessions [like voting reform & the 8-hour working day]<sup>9</sup>

The distribution of land on the *hytte* islands seems quite low-key and small-scale by comparison. But the state might well have been conducting a social experiment, as islanders in their own historical accounts have long claimed.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Borgen, St Hallvard, p.13

<sup>8</sup> When Tranmael edited Ny Tid in 1904 he wrote of “bourgeois society”; “Life’s precious things are here -- art, science and everything noble that can fill life is ready to promise beauty and joy. But workers are outside all that. You must create your own space. The remedy is organisation.”

<sup>9</sup> Danielsen, *From the Vikings to Our Own Times* p.329

<sup>10</sup> Lindøya Vel, 1997; “Jelstrup’s proposal was not easily approved, he had -- on the contrary -- to overcome a fierce opposition. To abandon these state-owned islands to such an experiment was unheard of, people said.” Nakholmen Vel (1947); “Children-rich” (*barnerike*) families from the

The aim might have simply been to prove that different classes of people could live side by side and create a new leisure society together, thereby contradicting the powerful *Arbeiderbevegelsen* which insisted workers needed institutions, clubs and leisure pursuits entirely separate from “bourgeois” society in order to thrive. If so, the State proved its point on hand-picked Nakholmen – but inadvertently proved rather the opposite on working class Lindøya, whose long-term success owes much to the social cohesion of its original, self-selecting, working-class inhabitants.

It is possible though, that the impression of polarisation, class war and defensiveness in the politics of 1920s Norway has been exaggerated and the state’s relaxed response to the island land grabs reflects the evolution of a more consensual approach to politics. The interwar Liberal and Conservative parties were both led by moderates. Otto B. Halvorsen was a conciliator and social reformer. Under his direction the Conservative Party’s programme in the 1918 elections advocated house building, social insurance and profit-sharing. The same platform was presented in 1921, despite increasing opposition from the Conservative right wing and employers. Halvorsen told the Conservative Party’s central board in 1922; “We have nothing to do with the employers and we are not a class party.”<sup>11</sup> Otto Blehr was a relatively old man of 74 when his Liberal government won power in 1921. But Blehr was a veteran of the push for independence from Sweden and one of the driving forces for the separate Norwegian consular service which finally ended the union with Sweden. In 1921 Blehr appointed the radical Haakon Martin Five as Minister of Agriculture – a post he held in three other administrations. So, despite constant changes of government after 1905, there was trust and familiarity between the main players of the non-socialist parties, a shared experience of successful separation

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narrow courtyard apartments of East Oslo were to be chosen over everyone else for summer cabins on the islands.”

I.J. Lyngø (1993) “In the aftermath of the 1920s the islands were depicted as a social experiment, and one can get the impression the state “gave” the huts to the working class almost on social criteria.” Borgen (1933); “This is more than an idyll. This is a social and aesthetic experiment that has succeeded to perfection.”

<sup>11</sup> *Norsk Biografisk Leksikon*; Halvorsen was Storting president in 1919, Conservative parliamentary leader until 1920 and Prime Minister twice before his sudden death in 1923.

from Sweden and a general commitment to social reform arising from a pre-independence Labour Commission set up by a unanimous vote of the Storting in 1885. Legislation on factory inspection, accident and health insurance were all direct outcomes of the Commission's report. The roots of these historic changes which might seem to "appease" the workers, belonged to a period before the *Arbeiderpartiet* (Labour Party) even existed. Compared to many other nations in the early twentieth century, Norwegian society was already fairly homogenous and relatively egalitarian.<sup>12</sup>

The potency of the workers' threat was also diminished by divisions within the Labour Movement during the Depression Years. Trade Union membership fell from 144,000 in 1919 to 84,000 in 1924 due to the economic crisis and failure of the General Strike. The Labour Party itself split over relations with Moscow. Three Labour parties stood against each other in the elections of 1924. The tense situation in 1921-2 did prompt the Conservatives and Liberals to secretly agree on measures to avert revolution. But in the event those measures were hardly used.<sup>13</sup> Arguably by 1922, the General Strike – the first and greatest challenge by Labour -- had failed and the first defence of its power by the new Norwegian State had succeeded. Despite the fact Norway was the only European country represented in Comintern by a mainstream Labour Party, it's often suggested that its leaders were reluctant to actually stage a revolution.<sup>14</sup>

Compensation theory proposes that individuals invest more heavily in one domain to make up for what is missing in another or participate in activities

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<sup>12</sup> Og, The Governments of Europe: "With little in the nature of native institutions upon which to build, the framers (of the Norwegian constitution) laid hold of features of the French, English, American, and other foreign systems, to transplant to Norwegian soil a body of political forms calculated to produce a high order of popular government. In Sweden the tone of the political system was distinctly autocratic, and that of the social system aristocratic; in Norway the principle that preponderated was rather that of democracy".

<sup>13</sup> Libæk & Stenersen, A History of Norway, p.108; "Terms of imprisonment were introduced for anyone preventing strike-breakers from working. The same punishment awaited those who supported illegal strikes or refused military service. Several Labour leaders were imprisoned for anti-militaristic activities but such confrontations did not lead to appreciable bloodshed. Only one person was killed in labour conflicts between 1900 and 1939."

<sup>14</sup> Witoszek, Regime of Goodness, p. 113. "The myth of the Norwegian revolution is one of many paths not taken. The blank bullet of military rhetoric was used to conjure an imminent revolution which – in the event -- never took place."

to satisfy needs they cannot satisfy at work.<sup>15</sup> Evidently, Oslo workers in 1921 had not managed to achieve economic “compensation” by going on strike for better wages.<sup>16</sup> Nor could they change the fact that their city-based working lives put country life beyond reach. But when the length of the working day was cut to 8 hours and paid holidays introduced in 1919, a potential avenue of “compensation” had appeared. Social, health and emotional needs could once again be met in the traditional, time-honoured Norwegian way – through access to purposeful outdoor activity or *friluftsliv*. The *landliggerne* in tents and huts on Lindøya were undoubtedly seeking compensation for working long hours and sharing one-bedroom flats with up to 10 people. So perhaps the professionals administering the new Norwegian state, aware of these harsh conditions, embarked on a strategy of political compensation in the sphere of leisure provision. In legal terms, compensation also serves to right wrongful injuries to persons or property and implies action by a third party.<sup>17</sup> Looked at this way, the thousand huts built on *kolonihager* plots could be described as “council compensation” and occurred largely between 1907 and 1912. The years of “state-driven compensation” (600 huts on the Oslofjord islands) occurred between 1922-1924. Population statistics show that each act of “compensation” occurred after a decade of relatively fast population growth. In the decade before the advent of *kolonihager* (1890-1900) Oslo’s population rose by 33 per cent.<sup>18</sup> The same pattern can be found with the *landliggerne* decade, before which (1910-20), the population grew by 15%. It could be argued that each population surge created housing pressure, which was only partly resolved by the construction of more block apartments without gardens. The *kolonihager*

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<sup>15</sup> Staines, G. L. Spill over versus compensation *Human Relations* Vol 33 Issue 2 (a980), pp.111-129.

<sup>16</sup> H.L. Wilensky, Work, careers and social integration (1960) *International Social Science Journal* Vol 12(4), pp. 543-560. Wilensky distinguished between those with careers who develop a “pseudo-community lifestyle” with many lightly held attachments and “the majority of workers, those without careers, (who) withdraw further into family or neighbourhood localism.” Perhaps the success of Lindøya occurred because bureaucrats with “pseudo-community lifestyles” understood that workers valued “neighbourhood localism” instead.

<sup>17</sup> R. Goodin, ‘Utilitarianism as a Public Philosophy’, *Economics and Philosophy* Vol 14, Issue 1 April (1998) pp.151-15.

<sup>18</sup> SSB (Statistics Norway): Population census.

could be seen as an explicit act of compensation by the *kommune* and the *hytteøyene* (hut islands), a similar contribution by the State.

But were the experiences of urbanisation and industrialisation in 1920s Norway so grim and the loss of rural idyll so real as to constitute “wrongful injury” demanding compensation in the minds of government officials? Certainly, the authorities refrained from heavy-handed tactics, even though they had ample grounds for evicting Oslo workers from unregulated huts, over hygiene breaches, non-payment of taxes and straight-forward trespass. There seem to be no stories of summary eviction – except where huts fell within new water catchment zones. Might this have created a precedent for the state on Lindøya where “settler” families were also handled carefully despite unruly behaviour and illegal presence? In both cases the authorities acted as if “land grabbers” had a right to remain – the moral right to compensation because of the inadequacy of housing provision.

Ironically though, workers did not get huts on Lindøya because of law-abiding behaviour. Staking their claims involved land grabs, and the *landliggerne* only started to behave like “decent workers” after their direct action had succeeded. The newspaper *Arbeiderbladet* declared Lindøya was living proof that leisure time spent in nature, in a semblance of the “old ways” was evidently the counterpoint to the living and working environment created by industrialisation.<sup>19</sup> But the truth was that the *landliggerne* had never played by anyone’s rules.

Hut owners occupied the islands and created their own solution. That is not acceptable behaviour. But because the house owners were neither “megalomaniac” or rich - just ordinary working people - that justified the action. What might the Oslofjord Outdoor Recreation Association, newspapers and other users have thought of cottage settlement if it had been another part of the population who had occupied the islands? Attempts to answer the question will always be speculation, but it is

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<sup>19</sup> Kjeldstadli, Åtte timer arbeid, p.80. “There is no better proof of the big city's unnatural form than the strong drive to create community development on the islands of Christiania Fjord. Human nature reacts against the capitalist society. Disciplines in towns and statutes and restrictions will never empower the human mind. Mankind always seeks the means to return to a state of nature. Even if just from Saturday night until Monday morning.” *Arbeiderbladet* 1923

clear that the origin myth has an element of "Robin Hood" in it. The pioneering social milieu justified the "occupation" – but it was an "occupation."<sup>20</sup>

Indeed in daring to shape their own leisure time, without advice, instruction, education, ferries or loans, the settlers of Lindøya were experiencing the essential nature of leisure – "time, not subject to any direct control by outsiders," as defined by Knut Kjeldstadli and "freedom from all forms of commercial activity, school and education, and mandatory obligations of the family and church" as defined by ethnologist Asbjorn Klepp.<sup>21</sup> Could genuine leisure be experienced under the worried, judgmental gaze of employers, trade unions, landlords and *kommune* officials? The hutters of inner Oslo fjord obviously thought not.

The situation in Scotland was entirely different. There was no state involvement in the foundation of Carbeth or indeed any other hutting community - one big reason so many disappeared over the years. The islanders on Lindøya were always adamant that if they had been dealing with private landowners or the local council, there would simply be no hutting islands and point to empty council and privately-owned islands as proof. But in 1920s Scotland, the decision to allow huts on land was an entirely private and personal one. So, although the same political and social factors were at work in Norway and Scotland, they played out very differently when applied to a political landscape dominated by feudal landowners like AGB Senior at Carbeth.

The threat of revolution in the wake of a General Strike was real on both sides of the North Sea in 1919. But the owner of Lindøya was a department of the government and therefore allied with the interests and outlooks of the Norwegian state. The private owner of Carbeth, by contrast, was at odds with the British Government over death duties and taxes and other anti-landowner policies which appeared to signal "regime change" in rural Scotland. Scottish lairds like Allan Barns Graham perceived themselves to be under threat from

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<sup>20</sup> I.J. Lyngø, Hyttelivets, p. 71.

<sup>21</sup> Kjeldstadli, Åtte timer arbeid, p.76.

both the state and the new workers' movement but felt neither morally responsible for any act of personal compensation towards soldiers or urban workers nor sufficiently secure to let law-abiding men "squat" on their land in weekend huts. In 1922, Norway was still in a nation-building stage, after winning independence in the name of the *bønde* (peasant farmer) – a class that included industrial workers. In Britain, by contrast, town and country were starkly divided, (even within the Labour movement) and, far from nation-building, the British state was under attack -- at war in Ireland and experiencing loss of territory and sovereignty abroad. But if nation-building, compensation and social control theories are hard to apply to Scotland's hutting communities because they were built almost exclusively on privately owned land, then what factors were important in their location and survival?

The most important determinants (that we know about) seem to have been personal rather than political. The owners of land at Seton Sands and Barry Downs did not belong to "landed" families. Instead they had acquired relatively small parcels of low-quality land, perhaps as a result of the tax rises on large landed estates, and were experimental and slightly eccentric by nature. William Bruce at Seton Sands was intent on testing out new varieties of crops; Robert Sturrock at Barry Downs was experimenting with market gardening and chicken rearing. Both responded immediately and positively when local people requested space for tents and huts -- they were already dabbling in unusual uses of land, so perhaps leisure activity was simply another way to diversify and earn a living. Unlike Norway, where the rental value of huts seemed quite unimportant in the State's decision to allow huts, the prospect of a steady income did matter to private landowners on marginal land in Scotland. At Barry Downs, the gross annual value of Robert Sturrock's farmland was less than the value of the hutting land from the first year that huts were established. At Carbeth, Allan Barns Graham had a relatively small estate with next to no agricultural value. As his grandson observed, annual rent from the hutters was an important source of income for a man otherwise financially dependent on his wife.

Personal relationships seem to have played an important role in the formation (and destruction) of Scottish hutting communities - more important perhaps than on the hutting islands of Inner Oslo fjord. The personal letters of William Ferris are testimony to his patience and persuasive powers, while the long list of outdoor organisations he founded, chaired and supported demonstrates his exceptional ability to win over the most sceptical landowners. Of course, the personality of William Ferris was shaped by his early political engagement -- with the Clarion Cyclists, Players and (in all likelihood) the Socialist Sunday School movement. His push for workers' leisure rights and access to nature was also timely. It followed the development of new thinking about the importance of sport, team-building, cooperation and outdoor activity in the education of Scotland's public-school elite. The health-conferring benefits of outdoor activity could not justifiably be limited to one social class. Yet essentially Carbeth exists because of the tenacity of one extraordinary man, while Lindøya arises from one exceptional period in the life of a new nation.

Finally, Carbeth – like all Scottish hutting sites – was hardly a community but a group of individual hutters with individual leases for 90 years, until the 2013 buyout when Carbeth hutters were finally able to set up Lindøya-style collective management. Lindøya was always a genuine, single community where the Vel quickly became the state's sole tenant and issued leases to individual hutters. In very large part, the ability to organise collectively helped Norwegian island hutting communities survive and lobby the state successfully for electricity and mains water whereas individual hutters in Scotland were “picked off” and entire hutting sites closed or gentrified if any request for similar services looked likely to impose burdens on private landowners.



## **Chapter Nine -- Conclusion**

Comparing the hut and cabin traditions of Scotland and Norway originally looked like a fairly straightforward task. The original hypothesis was that Scots currently have the smallest number of weekend wooden huts in northern Europe because previous generations did not set up hutting communities when others did - nations with fewer problems of access to land and fewer generations spent in cities away from the countryside. As it turns out, this was exactly wrong. Despite early industrialisation, urbanisation and a feudal system of land ownership that only formally ended in 2003 – indeed maybe because of this very different history -- Scots seem to have set up far more hutting communities pro rata than Norwegians or anyone else in Northern Europe. But groups of huts laid out in serried ranks Butlins-style were not responsible for the massive post-war growth in hutting across the wooded latitudes of the northern hemisphere. Rather that growth was accounted for by personally-chosen and often beautifully located, individual huts - a development made impossible in Scotland by the country's feudal and concentrated pattern of land ownership.

As demonstrated in Chapter Four, this research shows that the hutting islands of Lindøya, Nakholmen and Bleikøya - apparently so similar to Scottish hutting communities - are actually quite atypical of Norwegian experience. They seem to have been the first and last purpose-built hutting communities in Norway, whereas Carbeth was the first of many large-scale Scottish sites established during the interwar years. Carbeth survived the subsequent onslaught of gentrification, eviction, and new, exacting building standards - most other large sites did not.

Surprisingly too, hutting communities in Norway faced even more concerted opposition than those in Scotland during the pre-1945 period because the high densities on Oslo's *hytte* islands seemed likely to affect water quality and thus restrict swimming and because rights of public access to nature mattered hugely to Norwegians because they regularly used them. There was

also little space for urban expansion around Oslo (or indeed any of the cities, town and villages built on the edges of steep fjords) so flat land was valuable and consequently, alternative uses for the Norwegian *hytte* islands were proposed every few years by Oslo Council. The fact all were defeated is testimony to the organisational, lobbying and publicity skills of *vel* organisations set up to protect individual hutters and deal collectively with landowners on their behalf. This contrasted with the situation in Carbeth and other Scottish sites, where hutters built informal social communities, but remained mere collections of individuals in the eyes of landowners and the law. Another key advantage for the Lindøya hutters was the island's ownership by the state not private or council owners. The state's forestry department accepted hutting as compatible with tree-growing but rejected rubbish disposal, airport construction, festivals and permanent, year-round leisure facilities -- all favoured by the council. There was very little other state-owned land near Oslo. The vast upland wilderness of the Marka (mountainous moorland encircling Oslo) has long been privately owned but dedicated to general, public access. Meanwhile, the Nesodden peninsula opposite Oslo was already "taken" by the middle classes whose worry about water pollution from the "insanitary huts" was probably the biggest reason no other island was allowed to follow Lindøya's hutting lead. Once leisure time increased, car rationing ended and post war incomes rose, Oslo families were able to travel further than the *hytte* islands and build huts on family-owned land or plots bought from private farmer/foresters - generally within 37 kms or one hour's drive of their first home. This is perhaps the key to understanding the very different hutting traditions in Scotland and Norway. Across the North Sea, the great expansion in weekend huts took place on individual sites in forests and by fjords - not cheek by jowl in large, organised hutting sites. Lindøya, Bleikøya and Nakholmen were indeed unique. They were the first and last hutting communities in Norway, established before working people had the leisure time and resources to find individual huts in forests and not subject to the "summer-use only" access constraints that still govern the state-owned Oslo fjord islands.

The creation of *hytte* islands in Oslo fjord was facilitated by democratising forces within the Norwegian state, self-organising behaviour by workers and the significance attached to *friluftsliv* and the *bonde* tradition as distinctive aspects of national identity during the country's independence campaign - a solidarity-enhancing period of nation-building that was clearly not replicated in Scotland.

There was nothing inevitable or easy, however, about the hutters' 80-year mission to build and keep huts on what soon became the most desirable island house sites in Oslo fjord. At first, hutters were content simply to establish the right to camp. After a time though they wanted a more comfortable summer existence – and forced the state's hand. But as soon as the government gave permission for individual *hytte* on Lindøya, Nakholmen and Bleikøya, the *kommune* effectively pulled the drawbridge up, buying a nearby island lest it too became a *villaøy* (villa island).<sup>1</sup> The campaign against *hytte* on *Langåra* was led by a local yacht club run by a Conservative councillor and an outdoor swimming association headed by one of the leading lights in the revolutionary socialist movement. It seems the cause of stopping the creation of more island hutting communities after Lindøya created unity across a very wide political spectrum.<sup>2</sup>

But why was it not possible to simply remove the land-grabbers of Lindøya in the same way “troublesome” hutters were routinely evicted in Scotland? Perhaps because hutters did on Lindøya, what the Norwegian state had done 15 years earlier – they seized an opportunity to assert themselves, struck lucky and organised with near military precision. The hutters campaigned successfully for water and electricity connections, opposed every alternative leisure or industrial development proposed over almost a century and, without breaking any of the strict rules laid down in 1922, became a self-regulating state within a state - every summer at least. They took what they wanted - and that was their own version of something many wealthy Norwegians already had – summer holiday homes.

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<sup>1</sup> Tvedt, Oslo Byleksikon, Oslo 2000

<sup>2</sup> Kjeldstadli, *Den delte byen*, p.65

Their case for equal treatment had resonance – and good timing. A General Strike took place a year before the hutting deal was struck. Three years earlier the working day had been reduced and the legal right to leisure and paid holidays introduced. Four years earlier the Labour Party had committed itself to revolutionary methods and five years earlier, Labour put workers' health and leisure on the political agenda when they won control of Oslo *kommune*. Throughout the entire period, separate football teams, orchestras and even a separate encyclopaedia demonstrated that workers were quite capable of going their own way, creating structures beyond mainstream bourgeois society and perhaps bringing violent revolution to Norway if not accommodated.

Of course, striking workers and political parties agitated for the same things in Scotland and civic organisations like the Sunday Socialist Schools, and Clarion movement delivered a similar programme of separate workers' development. Yet, no Lindøya-style grab of land took place outside the crofting counties in Scotland (where land was seized for the purpose of building first, not second leisure homes). Scotland's hutting communities were without protection in law, without the expectation it could be otherwise and crucially, without support from the wider public or the country's new parliament, when they faced eviction in 1999.

Deep-seated social and political norms worked against the acceptance of "makeshift" dwellings in the Scottish countryside. Self-built huts failed to conform to prevailing ideas of "the picturesque" - an aesthetic ideal developed by 18<sup>th</sup> century clergyman and artist William Gilpin which praised the charm of landscape in its natural state.<sup>3</sup> (see footnotes 12 and 13; page 221). Makeshift huts cobbled together from old packing cases, metal containers, non-matching second-hand windows and the like, clearly didn't fit the picturesque ideal.<sup>4</sup> According to Stefan Szczelkun the Plotland huts; "pained the aristocracy,

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<sup>3</sup> <https://artmuseum.arizona.edu/events/event/19th-century-landscape-the-pastoral-the-picturesque-and-the-sublime> Accessed January 2020

<sup>4</sup> D. Marshall, 'The Problem of the Pictureque', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* Vol. 35, No. 3, Aesthetics and the Disciplines (Spring, 2002), pp. 414.

despoiled their landscape and imported the ugliness of urban exploitation.<sup>5</sup> Huts were also very visible in Scotland because almost all were sited on open land, because forests have generally been private and fenced off. In Norway, by contrast, huts (picturesque or otherwise) are almost always concealed by trees - except on the anomalous *hytte* islands - and the country's dispersed model of land ownership has created "an intricate weave of building and landscape" where human settlements look normal in even the most remote landscapes.<sup>6</sup>

In Scotland though, rural land has long been unavailable and unaffordable for all but some farmers and a small elite of landowners. Almost a million acres of land is in community-control, but none lies within an hour's travel of urban centres - the proximity that seems to have facilitated the development of hutting in Norway. So, the crucial expansion into personally chosen, individual hut sites simply did not, and could not happen in Scotland.

Scots experienced chronic insecurity on the land, were easily and quickly urbanised and retained few family links with rural places of origin (see footnote 52; page 41). These places became markers of clearance and eviction and must have produced mixed feelings as possible holiday destinations. Scenic areas rapidly became more popular with foreign visitors than Scots in the late nineteenth century, adding to the perception of the countryside as an alien habitus for urban Scots.

In post-war Scotland, hutting communities faced conversion into caravan sites. Councils took on responsibility for enforcing hygiene regulations and hut sites needed substantial investment in sanitation, water, electricity and other services, just as personal links between hatters and landowners had begun to wear thin. The 1960s became a pivotal period – without security of tenure or land purchase possibilities, hatters were reluctant or unable to make improvements. Wooden cabins must be replaced every thirty years or so – by 1960 hatters had to decide if such an effort was worthwhile. By then cheap holidays in the sun were popular and landowners wanted better returns from

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<sup>5</sup> Szczelkun, Conspiracy of Good Taste, p.46.

<sup>6</sup> J. Brennan, 'Architecture, Aesthetics and Making a working countryside' in P Versteegh & S Meeres (eds), AlterRurality: exploring representations and 'repeasantations'. *Arena*, Fribourg, pp.100-117.

high-quality cottages rented by the week not the year. Hutters could not compete with wealthier tourists seeking a one-week break. In Norway, where hutters owned their land, such competition for leisure accommodation simply did not arise. Unlike Lindøya and the Oslo *hytte* islands, which were located on government owned land, Scotland's hutting "communities" were established (almost entirely) on privately owned land and legal rights in Scotland have never been extended to private tenants of temporarily occupied property.

Essentially the same forces encouraged the establishment of weekend huts in Norway and Scotland, but came to bear on superficially similar yet fundamentally different political, social and economic landscapes. Scots faced insurmountable problems accessing land and forests and faced political obstruction in their attempts to change concentrated patterns of ownership by a landowner-dominated House of Lords – even though brief moments of change did appear in the 1920s.

The introduction of proportional representation in 1917 promoted compromise and accommodation in Norway between different class interests, whilst de-centralised governance and trade union structures encouraged the creation of local alliances between rural and urban workers. The normality of cooperation at local level seems to have created a cooperative default in which hut-building and access to land was viewed as unproblematic.

The two North Sea neighbours also had very different economic experiences. Industrialisation in Scotland started earlier than the rest of Europe and depended on privately-owned coal reserves which could be moved to industrial centres – this portability of energy supplies encouraged urbanisation. Norwegian industrialisation, by contrast, happened later and depended on hydroelectric power, which initially attracted industry to remote locations and was developed as a collectively-owned, national asset. Once Norway became an independent state in 1905, Norway stopped the purchase of land and rivers by foreign buyers (mostly British and Dutch) through Concession Laws, which effectively nationalised hydroelectric power and promoted a dispersed model of industrial development. As a result, hundreds of thousands of Norwegians combined farm and forest ownership with full or part-time work in rural

industry - and developed customs, cultural preferences and a habitus based on a relatively unproblematic existence on the land and easy access to nature.<sup>7</sup> Scots, by contrast were easily evicted farm tenants who became easily evicted slum tenants in cities. During the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the creation of broad-based socialist movements, the application of effective land reform and the radicalising aftermath of war made transformation look possible. But underlying, structural differences between Norway and Scotland meant diversification of land ownership did not happen.

Forestry, for example, was generally owned by a small number of private landowners. The establishment of the Forestry Commission for Scotland in 1931, did create a new, substantial public sector owner but hardly altered the prevailing view that woodland was an economic asset not a leisure habitat. This too was different in Norway, which, for centuries, had thousands of individual and municipal owners of farm and forestland. This underlying "path dependency" meant that during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, each similar technical trigger (holidays with pay, widespread car ownership, better roads, more disposable income) created different patterns of mass holiday experience in Norway and Scotland. Thus, in Scotland, trade unions generally built holiday camps, the type of leisure experience provided for in the Holidays with Pay Act 1938, while in Norway, trade unions built individual huts for the occasional use of each trade union member and family, close to trains and ferries for ease of access.<sup>8</sup>

Hutting in Scotland did not become the mainstream pursuit it has become in all the Nordic countries because Scots could not make the leap from precarious, tightly-packed hutting communities to the style of scattered individual hut ownership which proved attractive to growing ranks of middle-class people as incomes rose throughout the 1960s. Scottish hutters without tenancy rights, were easily evicted as post war social attitudes changed and new

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<sup>7</sup> Riddoch, Blossom; French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu devised the concept of 'cultural capital' – the knowledge, skills, education, and outlooks which combine to determine what people like to do, see, wear, listen to, eat and drink. 'Taste' or 'habitus' may seem individual, but according to Bourdieu, cultural preferences are chosen, even preset by the social or class group we belong to.

<sup>8</sup> Flognfeldt, New rural lifestyle in Norway, pp. 234-5.

standards of hygiene, water supply and sanitation were introduced. Huts became a hallmark of poverty and failure in Scotland whilst in Norway they became a celebrated link to generations of heroic nation-builders. Thus, when incomes in both countries rose in the 1960s, individual hut ownership exploded in Norway but not Scotland, and community-based hut sites in both countries faced decline.

In summary, very different patterns of land ownership created very different employment, demographic and social conditions in Norway and Scotland. Small farms in Norway tended to be owned, giving Norwegian farmers freedom to diversify, whilst Scottish farms were generally tenanted and constrained. The location of wealth and power, was distributed across Norway, but politically and economically concentrated in Scotland. Natural resources were nationalised in Norway, but privatised in Scotland. Norway had one of Europe's broadest franchises in the nineteenth century - Scotland one of the narrowest. The Norwegian Parliament decided the state should be responsible for providing 8 hours of rest/relaxation and 8 hours of sleep when it imposed limits on the working day in 1919 - such a comprehensive package of workers' leisure rights has never been enacted by the Westminster or Scottish parliaments. Essentially, Scotland and Norway demonstrate flip sides of Polanyi's theory – the British have tended to embed society within the market, whilst Norwegians have embedded the market within society.<sup>9</sup>

With such powerful institutional, economic and political barriers, it is surprising Scots created any hutting communities at all. But they did because of determined individuals like William Ferris and unusual, relatively open-minded, small-scale landowners like Robert Sturrock at Barry Downs, William Bruce at Seton Sands and Allan Graham Barns Graham at Carbeth. Scotland's sole, surviving, large hutting community resulted from a unique combination of demand and supply factors. Men returned from war expecting to find a "land fit for heroes." Land prices had crashed and the government was encouraging

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<sup>9</sup> K. Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of our Time*. (Boston, Beacon Press, 2001 edition).

market gardening, smallholdings and other forms of rural diversification. Meanwhile a rising sense of entitlement amongst working class Scots engendered by a plethora of radical movements, was attempting to uphold workers' rights against the combined might of the landed and professional classes. The establishment of the Labour Party coincided with the growth of hutting and other outdoor activities, bolstering confidence and class-consciousness amongst urban working-class Scots and encouraging them to reach into countryside hitherto regarded as beyond their habitus and culturally off limits.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, the period of growth in hutting on both sides of the North Sea maps the years of Labour's primacy in each country with the creation of the welfare state, intervention to alleviate land shortages and advent of universal suffrage. But progress faltered in Britain and structural inequality combined with underinvestment to cause post-war economic decline. Crucially, Scotland's hutters remained precarious tenants of the land their huts were built on, not secure tenants or outright owners as almost every *hytte* owner in Norway became after WW2. Today, 82% of hutters in Scotland rent hut sites, while 80% of hutters in Norway own them. This dramatic difference has had a profound impact. As researcher Hugh Gentleman observes, the vast majority of rented sites do not offer the remotest possibility of ownership or the security and ability to improve and bequeath that would attract more affluent citizens. Thus, the decision-making and opinion-shaping middle class has tended to view huts as valueless and unsightly, making the situation of hutters even more contingent and vulnerable.

Norway's egalitarian post war society rapidly became relatively classless whilst Scotland remained acutely class-divided. Huts – associated with poverty and the working class – were shunned by the professional and middle classes who so enthusiastically embraced them in Norway. Interestingly even the original Carbeth hutters were keen to be known as cabin owners not hutters. In

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<sup>10</sup> P. Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital' in J. G. Richardson, *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Capital*, (New York, Greenwood Press, 1986).

a country where the working class had relatively little political space, they would have very little leisure space either.

Essentially, for a short period between the 1920s and 1950s in Scotland, rural Scotland was not considered to be the sole preserve of the landed classes. But this temporary suspension of hostilities was an illusion – once Britain's post-war dalliance with socialism, home rule and land reform were over, it was back to business as usual.

This thesis argues that relatively equal ownership of land and easy access to nature, made hut-owning possible in relatively classless Norway. Scots established broad-based socialist organisations during the inter-war period, but they could not overcome the limited access to land that resulted from Scotland's concentrated pattern of land ownership or the chronic insecurity that arose from renting but not owning houses, huts, allotment plots, sheds and land. The 1920s Norwegian Government was indeed engaged in a "social experiment" -- it was an experiment called democracy which permeated every aspect of civic, political, economic and cultural life and demanded the fair distribution of all social goods, including leisure, by a state still consciously engaged in nation-building across a newly expanded electorate with strong familial and emotional connections with nature. Against this conducive backdrop, a set of self-starting, boat-owning Oslo workers had the determination to assert their right to *friluftsliv*, like any other Norwegian citizen, and the luck to encounter a progressive land manager who seized the opportunity to facilitate meaningful social change.

Scotland's inter-war hutting sites arose from the same happy coincidence of political change and personal connection that occurred on the hutting islands of Inner Oslo fjord. But unable to expand beyond precarious, rented, basic, un-serviced and sometimes insanitary camps, and lacking Norway's comfortable familiarity with nature and the great outdoors, hutters in Scotland failed to attract the influential middle classes or win help from the political class at Holyrood. Today, hutting is again on the rise, with the formation in 2011 of the Thousand Huts campaign, prompting hut-friendly changes to planning laws and building regulations. But suitable land is still in

short supply, the rights of temporary tenants are still non-existent and second homes are still regarded (and taxed) as if they alone are responsible for rural housing scarcity.

Without a change in attitudes, it's hard to see how the legacy of Scotland's inter-war hutting pioneers will ever be fully appreciated, or their highest hopes realised - an escape into nature and a wee wooden hut for every family in Scotland.



## Appendix One

List of hutting sites discovered by Hugh Gentleman during his 1999 research for the Scottish Government.<sup>1</sup>

TABLE 4.1 - SITE SIZES (*Nos. of huts*)

NUMBER OF HUTS					
Site No.	Site name	Comp. total	Plg survey	Assr. survey	RRS trawl
<b>The largest site</b>					
ST1	Carbeth Estate, Stirling	180	180		247
<b>Large sites (c50)</b>					
AN1	The Downs, Barry	49	49	49	
PK3	Clayton, St. Andrews	49	49		
SB1	Soonhope, Peebles	47	47		10
<b>Medium sites (c20-30)</b>					
SB3	Windy Gowl, Carlops	30	30		30
SB2	Hattonknowe, Eddleston	30	30		25
SA6	Carlton Crescent, Lendalfoot, Girvan	28		28	
EL1	Belhaven, Dunbar	24	24		
AN2	Lucknow, Barry	24	23	24	
DG1	Carrick Shore, Gatehouse of Fleet, Castle Douglas	23		23	
<b>Smaller sites (c10-20)</b>					
SA1	Old Toll, Ayr	16		16	
PK2	Rumbling Bridge	15	5	15	
DG2	Glen Isle, Palnackie, Castle Douglas	15		15	
ST2	Carronbridge	14	14		
AN4	Corbie Knowe, Lunan Bay	13	12	13	
AN3	Craigendownie, Glen Lethnot	11	11	11	
IN1	Cloch Road, Gourock	11	11		
DG3	Rascarrel, Auchencairn	11		11	
NA1	Lawhill, West Kilbride	11		11	
WD1	Aber Mill, Gartocharn	10	10		
<b>Small groups (2-9)</b>					
RE1	Boghead, Lochwinnoch	9	3	9	
ST3	Dalmary, Gartmore, Aberfoyle	8	8		
PK1(a)	Snow Plough Meadow, Glendevon	7		7	
SA2	Gamesloup, Lendalfoot, Girvan	7		7	
SA3	Whilk Meadows, Lendalfoot, Girvan	6		6	
PK1(b)	Myrehaugh, Glendevon	4		4	
SA4	Carlton Fishery, Lendalfoot, Girvan	4		4	
DG4	Portling, Dalbeattie	4		4	
IN2	Lunderston Bay, Gourock	3	3		
AN6(b)	Tarfside, Glenesk, Edzell	3		3	
DG5	Sandyhills, Dalbeattie	2		3	
AN6(a)	Caimcross, Glenesk, Edzell	2		2	
AN7 (a)	Breadonnie, Glen Clova, Kirriemuir	2		2	
PK1(c)	Glendevon	2		2	
DG6	Bowmains, Glencaple, Dumfries	2		2	
<b>Individual huts</b>					
		27			
		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
		703	509	295	481

**NOTE** 1 Where the Planning Department have given generalised numbers of cN, for the purposes of this table they have been taken as actual numbers.

2 The Assessor survey total inevitably is low as only partial data is available.

3 As well as the listed RRS numbers the total includes 40 for '30-40' for Lendalfoot, 9 for Falkirk, 6 for Skye and Lochalsh and 100 in respect of the 'many hundreds' suggested to RRS by N Ayrshire Council.

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<sup>1</sup> Gentleman H, *Huts and Hutterers in Scotland* Released by Research Consultancy Services via Scottish Government Edin 1999 P19

## Appendix Two

Location of Scottish hutting sites from Gentleman data<sup>2</sup>



<sup>2</sup> ibid

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